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CICERO'S BOOKS OF FRIENDSHIP,
OLD AGE, AND SCIPIO'S DREAM

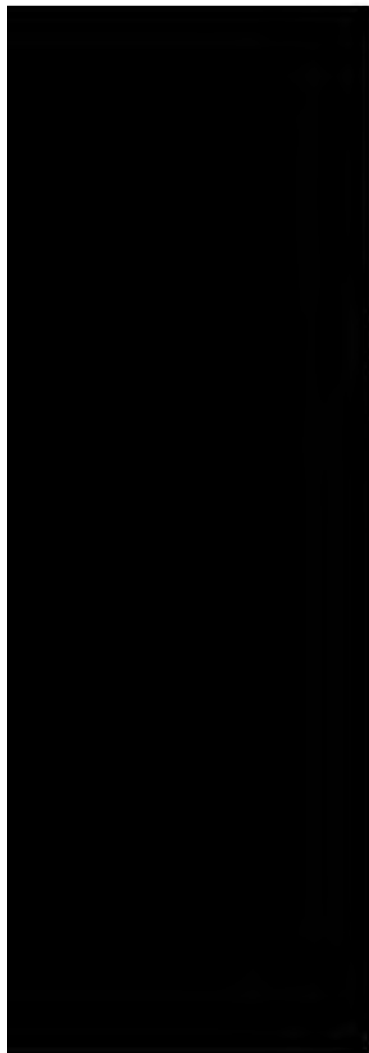






CICERO'S BOOKS OF
FRIENDSHIP, OLD AGE,
AND SCIPIO'S DREAM

ALEXANDER MORING LIMITED
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INTRODUCTION

The Subject Matter of this Book.—The three books of Cicero, which are here translated, are among the choicest remains of antiquity. *Scipio's Dream*, although not composed as a separate work, is complete in itself. It formed part of Cicero's treatise, *On the State (De Re Publica, Libri VI.)*, which was composed in 54 B.C. This work is founded on the *Republic* of Plato, which also contains a vision of life after death, but of a very different kind from Cicero's. The work disappeared a thousand years ago, all except the *Dream*, which was preserved by Macrobius; but in 1822 Cardinal Mai found the greater part of the first two books, which he published in the same year. The treatise *On Old Age (Cato Maior sive De Senectute)*, was written in 44 B.C., and that *On Friendship (Laelius sive De Amicitia)* soon after; both were addressed to the author's friend Atticus. Cicero was at this time living in retirement, and the years from 47 to 43 B.C.

were occupied in literary work ; nearly all his works on philosophy and rhetoric were composed then. On December 7th, 43 B.C., he was murdered. Cicero, as all the world knows, desired to shine as a politician ; but the successes and disappointments of public life never dried up his spring of literary genius. Forced into retirement, the sensitive soul of the man found consolation in the company of worthy friends, who could appreciate his greatness. The bitterness of party strife is well forgotten in high discourse and intellectual delights. As a statesman, Cicero does not here concern us : whatever his faults, he deserved well of his country, and like other great men, he was treated ill. As a man, he commands the admiration and affection of all who can appreciate what is generous and lofty. No more noble picture has ever been drawn of old age or of the ideal friend than we see in these books.

The Book of Friendship.—John Harington, the translator of the first work in our volume, has left but small record of himself. It seems that he held office under King Henry VIII., as Treasurer to the King's Camps and Bridges ; in which capacity he had to clerk John Bradford the Martyr. One or both were involved in some case of embezzlement, in which the friends of each accused the other. Harington

married Etheldreda, a natural daughter of King Henry. Later, he devoted himself to the service of the Princess Elizabeth, and in 1554 he married one of her gentlewomen at Hatfield, Isabella Markham; in the same year he and his wife were committed to the Tower, with the Princess. In his preface (dated 1550) he speaks of an earlier imprisonment. Since this preface gives an account of the composition of the book, we have included it in the Appendix.

The Book of Old Age and Scipio's Dream.—Thomas Newton, translator of the other two pieces, was born in 1542, at Butley, Prestbury, Cheshire. He was educated at Macclesfield Grammar School, and Trinity College, Oxford, whence in 1562 he passed to Queens' College, Cambridge, returning to Oxford later. In 1569 we find him at Butley, engaged on the translation of Cicero's *Old Age*; there also he produced many of his works down to the year 1583, when (or whereabouts) he was made rector of Little Ilford in Essex. He died in 1607. His works had a wide range: historical, medical, and theological, with commendatory verses in English and Latin. Two which have been attributed to him, *Atropoion Delion; or the Death of Delia* (1603) and *A pleasant new History; or A Fragrant Posy of Three*

Flowers, Rosa, Rosalynd, and Rosemary (1604), are by another hand. His translations are: *The Touchstone of Complexions*, from the Latin of 'Leuine Lemnie' (London, 1576, 1581); *A Direction for the Health of Magistrates and Students*, from Gulielmus Gratarolus (London, 1574); *A Notable History of the Saracens*, drawn out of Augustine Curio and sundry other good Authors (London, 1575); *A View of Valiance*, from Rutilius Rufus, a Roman gentleman (London, 1580), describing the wars of Rome and Carthage; *A Commentary or Exposition upon the two Epistles General of Saint Peter, and that of Saint Jude*, translated from Martin Luther (London, 1581); *Of Christian Friendship*, from Danaeus (London, 1586); *The Old Man's Dietary* (London, 1586); *A Herbal for the Bible*, from Levinus Lemnius (London, 1587). Besides these, he translated the *Thebais* of Seneca, in the English rendering of 1581; and *Four General Treatises of M. Tullius Cicero, Friendship, Old Age, the Paradoxes, and Scipio's Dream*, published together in 1577. The following complete the list of his works: *Approved Medicines and Cordial Receipts* (London, 1580); *Illustrium Aliquot Anglorum Encomia* (London, 1589); and *Thomas Newton's Staff to Lean On*, a commentary on two verses of the 22nd Psalm (London, 1590).

INTRODUCTION

xiii.

The titles of the two works translated by Newton are as follows :—

The Wor-
thy Booke of old age
otherwyse entituled the elder Ca-
to, contayning a learned defense
and praise of Age, and Aged
men : written in latine by that
father of eloquence Mar-
cus Tullius Cicero, and
now englished.

*From the ...
... 15*

Wherunto is annexed a Recitall
of diverse men that lived long.
With a declaracion of sundrye
soortes of yeares, and
the diversitie betweene
the yeeres in the old
time and our yea-
res nowe a-
dayes.

Anno 1569.
Imprinted at London by
Thomas—Marsh.

INTRODUCTION

The Booke of
 Marcus Tullius Cicero en-
 titled Paradoxa Stoicorum.
 Contayninge a precise discourfe of
 divers pointes and conclusions
 of vertue and Phylofophie according
 to the Tradicions and opinions of
 those Philosophers, whiche
 were called *Stoikes*.

Wherunto is also annexed a
 Philofophicall Treatyse of
 the fame Authoure called
 Scipio hys Dreame.

Anno. 1569.
 Imprinted at London in
 Fletestreate neare unto Sainte
 Dunstone's church by T. Marshe.

The Present Edition.—The present edition is a faithful reprint, so far as human error allows, of the texts, a few misprints only being corrected. The reader will, it is hoped, be sensible of the charm of Harington's style, with its old-world simplicity and melody; whilst Thomas Newton is a practised craftsman, who shows the influence of the great age in which he lived.

W. H. D. Rouse

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Harrington

L. ...

"

Cicero, B.C. 106-43.

THE PERSONS OF THE DIALOGUES

Time, B.C. 130, just after the death of the

THE BOOK OF FRIENDSHIP

Caius Fannius, the historian

The augur, Quintus Mucius Scævola *Quid a*

Caius Lælius B.C. 185-115

Time, B.C. 130

THE BOOK OF OLD AGE

Caius Lælius

The censor

Marcus Cato

B.C. 234-147¹⁷

The younger Scipio

Publius Scipio

B.C. 189-130

Ameliora Saltem

**CICERO'S BOOK
OF FRIENDSHIP** *B. C. 120*

*Addressed to T. Pomponius Atticus
B. C. 127-32.*

*very good
English translation.*

very old man after B. C. 70

St. A. ...

I **Q**UINTUS MUCIUS SCAEVOLA, Augur, was wont to tell, readily and pleasantly, many things of Caius Laelius, his father-in-law, and not to stick in all his kind of communication to call him wise. But I was so put to Scaevola by my father, when I came to man's estate, that as nigh as I well could or might, I should never go from the old man's sleeve. And therefore I bare away many things wisely reasoned, and many things briefly and handsomely told, and sought by his wisdom to grow better learned. When he was dead I got me to Publius Scaevola, whom alone I dare boldly name the chiefest of our city for wit and knowledge. But another time we shall speak of him; now I return to Scaevola Augur. As he often talked of sundry matters, so I remember, sitting at home in his half-round chair (as his manner was) when I and very few his familiars were present, he fell into that talk which then was almost common in many men's mouths. For you remember

1. "The ..."
2. "Some ..."
in the ...

as I think, Atticus—and so much the rather because you haunted Sulpicius' company very much—what a wonder of lamentation of men there was, when he being Tribune of the People, disagreed from Quintus Pompeius with a deadly feud, who then was consul; with whom very friendly and lovingly he had lived. Therefore at that time Scaevola, when he fell into a rehearsal thereof, declared unto us the talk that Laelius had upon friendship with him and his other son-in-law, Caius Fannius, the son of Marcus, shortly after Africanus' death; the sum of which disputation I bare away, and have set it forth in this book after my own fancy. For I have brought in, as it were, themselves speaking, to the intent these words "quoth I" and "quoth he" should not be too often rehearsed. And the rather I did it that the talk might seem of two that were present before you. For whereas oftentimes you were in hand with me, Atticus, that I should write somewhat upon friendship, methought it a thing both meet for the knowledge of all men, and also for our familiarity. And therefore at your request I did it, not unwillingly, that I might profit many. But as in my book called *Cato Major*, which is written to you of Old Age, I have brought in Cato the old man reasoning, for that there seemed no

Sulpicius

1000 3

meeter man to speak of age than he, who had been very long aged, and above others in that his age had flourished ; so, for as much as we have understood by our elders the notable acquaintance between Caius Laelius and Publius Scipio, I have thought Laelius a very fit person to reason the self-same things of friendship, which, my master Scaevola remembered, was often disputed by him. And certes this kind of talk, set out with the authority of ancient men, and the same famous, seemeth, I wot not how, to have in it a more weightiness and gravity. And therefore I myself, reading mine own works, sometime am in that mood, that methinketh Cato speaketh and not I. But as then age with age did speak of age ; so now to his friend the friendly writeth of friendship. Then spake Cato at those days, in a manner the eldest and wisest. Now speaketh Laelius of friendship, a man both wise (for so was he counted), and for the praise of friendship the chiefest.

I would for a while you minded not me, but suppose that Laelius himself speaketh.

Caius Fannius and Quintus Mucius cometh to their father-in-law after Africanus' death. The talk riseth on them. Laelius maketh answer ; whose disputation is wholly of friendship, which yourself (when you read) shall understand. |

II

FANNIUS. These things be true, O Laelius; for neither better, neither nobler hath there been any, than Africanus. But you must think all men have cast their eyes upon you, and you only they call and judge wise. This name was given not long since to Marcus Cato. We know also that Lucius Acilius, in our father's time, was named wise; but either of them in a sheer manner. Acilius, because he was thought cunning in the civil law: Cato, because he had experience of many things, and many of his doings, both in council in the Senate, and in the judgment place of justice, were reported to be foreseen wisely, done stoutly, and answered wittily, attained now in his old age (as half a surname) to be called Cato the Wise. But you in another kind, not only by nature and conditions, but also by study and knowledge, they account wise; neither after the common people's reckoning, but as the learned sort are wont to call one wise, that is, such a one, as in all [the rest of] Greece is not the like. For those, which narrowly search out these matters, do not reckon them in the number of wise men, which be called the seven sages of Greece. ~~Indeed, one~~ we have heard of, that was at Athens, and the same, Apollo's oracle adjudged the wisest.

See before. Also see before. In the

This wisdom men think in you, that you account all your riches lodged within you, and that all worldly haps be inferior to virtue. And for this cause, I believe, they enquire of me and of Scaevola here also, how you bear Africanus' death; and so much the rather, because these last nones, when we came into Decimus Brutus's orchards (the augur), as the usage is, to reason upon matters, you were not present there, who was wont most diligently to attend both that day and business.

SCAEVOLA. Many truly ask, Caius Laelius, as Fannius saith. But I make this answer, that I perceive you bear your sorrow soberly, which you take for so noble and friendly a man, and that you could not choose but be somewhat troubled; and otherwise of your own natural kindness you could not be. And as to that you were not present at our meeting these nones, I said sickness was the cause and not sorrow.

LAELIUS. Well said, Scaevola, and truly: for neither ought I for any loss to be withdrawn from this duty, which while I was in health I always performed; neither do I think that it can happen by any occasion that there should be any slackness of duty in a constant man. But you, Fannius, do like a friend, that you tell me the world ascribeth so much

unto me as neither I acknowledge, neither desire. But yet, as me seemeth, you judge not truly of Cato. For either no man there is (as indeed I rather believe), or if any be, Cato it is that is wise. Ah, how (to leave the rest unspoken) did he take the death of his son? I can remember Paulus, and saw Caius. But these may not be compared to Cato, the great and the noble. Wherefore beware how you prefer any before Cato; no not him whom Apollo (as you said) adjudged the wisest; for of this man his deeds, and of that man his sayings, be commended. (But concerning myself (to answer now you both) reckon thus. If I deny to be grieved with the loss of Scipio, let the wise judge how well it were done; but, certes, lie I should; for I am troubled that I am now bereft of such a friend, as I suppose never none shall be, and, as I can approve, never none hath been. But I need no physic; I can comfort myself, and chiefly with this kind of comfort, that I am not in that error wherewith most men are wont to be accombred at the departing of their friends. For I think that Scipio hath no hurt. Mine it is, if any be. And for a man to be grievously troubled for his own losses it is selfy love, and not friendly love. But who can deny, that Scipio is not happy? For except he would

wh. conf. in a. possion.

have wished ever life (which was farthest out of his thought), what hath he not obtained that was meet for a man to wish : who in the beginning of this man's state, with unheard virtues, exceeded the great hope the citizens conceived of him, being a child ; who never sued for the consulship, and yet was twice made consul, first, before time, being under age, secondly, in time by course, and for the commonwealth almost too late ; who by destroying two cities, most eager enemies to this empire, clearly brake up not only wars that were present, but wars which were to come. What should I speak of his gentle manners, his natural duty towards his mother, his liberality towards his sisters, his goodness towards his servant, his uprightness towards all men ? All these be right well known to you. But how dear he was to the city, it was declared by the mourning at his funerals. What then could having of a few years moe have profited him ? For old age, although it be no heavy burden (as I remember Cato did the year before his death discourse with me and Scipio), yet it taketh away that fresh youth, wherein then Scipio was. Wherefore his life was such, either by fortune or by glory, as nothing could be added more. But his quick departure took away the grief of death, of the

He was found dead in his bed

which sort of dying it is hard to speak any certainty.

(1) x What men suspect, you see. Nevertheless, this a man may safely say, that amongst many his days which he had seen in his lifetime, most fair and joyful, that day was the noblest to Publius Scipio when, the Senate house being broken up, he was brought home [again] at night by the oldest Senators, by the league friends of the Romans, and also by the Latins, the day before he departed this life; that from so high a step of honour, he might seem rather to have mounted to God, than to have gone down to hell. | For I can in no wise agree with them which began of late to reason thus, that the soul dieth with the body, and all things end by death. I weigh more the authority of old writers, and of our elders, which made so godly laws for the dead, as in mine opinion they would never have done if they had thought there had nothing concerned them. And their authority also I more regard, which were sometime here in this land, and instructed Great Greece with their good rules and lessons, which now is destroyed, and at that time flourished. And his also I esteem more, which by Apollo's oracle was adjudged the wisest, who did not affirm sometime one thing, and sometime another, as in many cases is used; but always held one: that man's soul was an heavenly

(1) Cicero.

ut ut tam. alle dignitatis gaudere ad
 & videtur potius, quam ut infere ferre

thing; and that the same, when it departed from the body, had a way to return to heaven, very speedy for every good and just man. Which self-same thing Scipio also thought, who seemed as it were, to have a fore-feeling of the thing a very few days before his death; when both Philus and Manilius being present, and others more (yea, and you yourself, Scaevola, commoned with me), he reasoned three whole days upon a commonwealth; the latter end of the which disputation was of the everlasting life of the soul, which, he said, he heard of Africanus in his sleep by a vision. If that be so, that every good man's soul doth easily make his flight to heaven, as out of prison and chains of the body, whom can we judge to have had an easier passage to God than Scipio? Wherefore, to lament this his good end, I fear were rather envious than friendly. And on the other side, if I were afraid of this, that the soul died with the body, and that there remained neither feeling of weal nor woe, then, as in death there is no goodness, so neither is there evilness. For when a man's feeling is once gone, he is made as though he had never been born. Yet that Scipio was begot both we do rejoice, and the city, while it standeth, ought to be glad. Wherefore, as I said afore, he is very well, but with me it is

the elder Africanus

2

(1) x somewhat worse, whom reason rather would, as I came before him into this world, so I should have gone before him out of this life. But yet I take such fruit of the remembrance of our friendship, that I think I lived happily that with Scipio I led my life, with whom I had a joint care, for the commonwealth and for our private causes; with whom both in peace and war I took like part. Yea, and we agreed ever more in love, mind, purpose, and opinion, in which thing the whole pith of friendship standeth. Therefore this fame of wisdom, which Fannius even now rehearsed, doth not so greatly delight me (specially being false) as that I trust there shall be an everlasting memory of our friendship. And the same the rather is an heartjoy unto me, because that in so many hundred pairs as have passed there have been found scarce three or four couples of friends; among the which sort I see there is hope that Scipio's and Laelius' friendship shall be known to our offspring.

K FANNIUS. Really, Laelius, this cannot otherwise be chosen. But seeing you have made mention of friendship, and we be also at leisure, you shall do a great pleasure to me, and no less, I trust, to Scaevola, if, as ye are wont of other matters when they are demanded of you, you will so now dispute of friendship: what

you think thereof, whom you count a friend, and
 what good rules you give thereon.

SCAEVOLA. It pleaseth me well, and as I was about to be in hand with you for it, Fannius did forespeak me. Wherefore you shall exceedingly pleasure both us.

LAELIUS. And I surely think it no pain, if I thought myself well able; for both the matter seems goodly, and we (as Fannius alleged) be at leisure. But who am I, or what eloquence is in me? This is the fashion of learned men, and that among the Greeks, to have a matter proponed unto them whereon they should reason, although out of hand. It is a busy piece of work, and needeth no small exercise. Wherefore, my judgment is, you should seek the points to be disputed of friendship, of those which profess this manner of reasoning. As for me, I can no more but exhort you to set friendship before all kind of worldly things. For nothing is so agreeable to nature, nor so fit for prosperity or adversity. But first and foremost this I think, that friendship can be but in good men. Neither do I so search the matter to the quick, as they which reason this gear more subtly, although perchance truly, and yet little to any common profit. For they deny that any is good, but he be

V

The Sophist

A.

The Sophist

wise. And be it so hardily; yet such a thing call they that wisdom as never earthly man attained hitherto. But we must hope for such things as be in use, and in our daily life; and not for those things which be feigned or wished after. I will never say that Caius Fabricius, Marcus Curius, and Titus Coruncanius, whom our elders deemed wise, were after these men's rule accounted wise. Wherefore let them keep to themselves their name of wisdom, both envied and unknown, so they confess these afore were good men. But yet that will not they grant; for they will deny that that can be said but by them that be wise. Let us go then even plainly to work, like a pack-staff, as the proverb is. They which behave themselves, and do so live, that their faith, their honesty, their uprightness and liberality is allowed; and in them neither covetousness, neither treachery, neither rashness is seen to be; and beside this, be of great constancy, as they were whom before we named; all these, like as they be taken for good men, so we think them worthy to be called; who follow nature, the best guide of well living, so far as man's power can lead them. For this methinketh I do spy, that we are so born together, as there should be among all men a certain fellowship. And the greater the fellow-

ship should be, the nearer that every one cometh to another. And therefore citizens be dearer to us than foreigners, and kinsfolk nearer than friend-folk; for toward these nature herself hath bred a friendliness. But in this there is not surety enough. For in this point friendship passeth kindred, in that kindred may be without good-will, but friendship in no wise can lack it. For take away good will, and friendship leseth, but cousinage keepeth still his name. But how great the virtue of friendship is, it may hereof best be understood, that of innumerable companies of mankind, which nature herself hath knit together, it is a thing drawn and brought into such a strait, that friendship is always joined either between two, or else between few. For friendship is nothing else, but a perfect agreement, with good will and true love, in all kind of good things and godly. And I know not whether any better thing hath been given of God unto men, wisdom excepted, than this same friendship. Some set riches before, some health, others power, and others honour, many also pleasures. But certes, this last is for beasts; and those other uppermore be fading and uncertain, and be not so much within the compass of our wisdom as within the fickleness of fortune; but they which place our chiefest weal in

YZ.

(*De Academicis
Indisputabilibus*)

virtue do therein very well. And yet this same virtue it is, which both engendreth and upholdeth friendship; neither may friendship by any means be without virtue.

Now let us set out what is virtue, after the manner of our living and fashion of our talk; and let us not measure it as certain unlearned men do, by the stateliness of the words. And let us reckon them good men which are so counted; that is to say, the Pauluses, the Catos, the Caiuses, the Scipios, and Philuses. These were contented with this common kind of life. And as for such which cannot anywhere be found, let us leave them off. Therefore among such sort of men, friendship hath so many commodities as I can scarcely well express. First, who can be *vita vitalis* (to use Ennius's terms, which in English is "living in this life"), that liveth not in mutual love with some friend? What sweeter thing can there be than to have one with whom thou darest so boldly talk all matters as with thine own self? How should the profit of welfare and prosperity be so great if you had not some which should rejoice so much thereat as yourself? But as for evil plight and adversity, it were hard to bear them without such an one as would be the same more grievously than yourself. To conclud

all other things that are desired, each one to each man serveth the turn, as riches for use ; wealth for worship ; honour for praise ; pleasure for delight ; health to want grief, and to do the office of the body. Friendship containeth more things in it. Whithersoever you turn it is at hand ; it will be kept out of no place ; it is never unseasonable, nor never troublous. Therefore neither water, nor fire, nor air, as they say, do we in more places use, than this friendship. And now do I not speak of the common or mean sort of friendship (which yet delighteth and profiteth), but of the true and perfect ; as theirs was, which being few, are soon told. For friendship maketh welfare the goodlier, and evil-fare, by sundering and parting of griefs, the lighter. |

And where friendship hath in it many and great commodities, yet this exceedeth all the rest : that she forecomforts us with the good hope that is to come ; she suffereth men's hearts neither to faint, nor yet to fall. But he that beholdeth his friend doth, as it were, behold a certain pattern of himself. Wherefore, in friendship, the absent be present ; the needy never lack ; the sick think themselves whole ; and (that which is hardest to be spoken) the dead never die : so great honour, remembrance, and desire breedeth in

x
consists of them
 them towards their friends, by reason whereof their deaths be thought happy, and the others' lives be much praised. But if you should take out of the world the knot of friendship, neither can there any house, neither any city, be able to continue; no, not the tillage of the land can endure. And if this cannot be understood hereby, yet of strife and debate it may well be perceived how great the power of concord and friendship is. For what house so steady, or what city stands so fast, but through hatred and strife it may be utterly overthrown? Whereupon how much goodness resteth in friendship, it may be easily judged. Men report that a certain Agrigentine, being a learned man, wrote in Greek verses that all things, having their being in the world and moving, be by friendship kept together, and by debate scattered; and this all men both perceive, and prove in very deed. And, therefore, if at any time there hath appeared any kind part of one friend toward another, in adventuring of peril, or else in part bearing the same, what is he that would not set it out with great praises?

What a great show was there, the last day, all the place over, at the new-made play of mine old host and friend, Marcus Pacuvius, when the king, not knowing whether of the two was Orestes, Pylades answered,

It is a great pleasure to me to see you here; and I am glad to see you so well.
Myself is a great pleasure to me to see you here; and I am glad to see you so well.

that he it was that was Orestes, because he would have been put to death for him ; and Orestes again (that was so indeed) avowed stiffly, that he it was that was Orestes. The hearers, that stood about, praised it with clapping their hands, being but a matter feigned. What think we then they would have done in a true matter? Here nature herself did soon be-
wray her own earnestness, when these men judged the same to be well done in another, which they could not do themselves.

And thus far (meseemeth) I have thoroughly spoken what I think of friendship. If there be any more things, as I believe there be many, ask it of them, if ye think good, which dispute these kind of matters.

FANNIUS. But we rather covet to hear it of you, although for my part I oft times have sought it at their hands, and have heard them very willingly. But we look for another manner of vein in your talk.

SCAEVOLA. You would the sooner have said so, Fannius, if you had of late been present in Scipio's orchard, when the reasoning was concerning a commonwealth ; and had heard what a defender of justice he was at that day against a curious oration that Philus made.

FANNIUS. That surely was an easy matter, for the just to defend justice.

SCAEVOLA. And what say you by friendship? Shall it not be like easy for him to do the same therein, who hath gained great honour for keeping the same with all trustiness, steadfastness, and uprightness?

LAELIUS. Nay, this is as though ye would force me to speak. But what skilleth it, by what means you drive me to it? I take it truly, that ye force me. Yet to withstand the earnest desires of a man's friends, especially in an honest matter, partly it is an hard thing to do, and partly not well standing with reason. Wherefore, many times thinking of friendship, this was wont to be chiefly weighed of me, whether for stay and for need men ought to seek for friendship, to the intent that, in doing and taking of pleasures, one might receive of another that he could not come to by himself, and after that sort might requite others; and whether this were the very property of friendship, or else there were some other cause more ancient, more commendable, and more proceeding of nature. For love, whereof friendly love and friendship cometh, is the chief cause to fasten good wills together. Commodities oftentimes also be gotten at their hands, which with flattering friendship be sought upon, and

as time serveth, be attended upon. But in friendship there is no feigning, there is no dissembling; and whatsoever is in it, the same is true and unforced.

Wherefore I am of opinion that friendship took his
 o beginning rather by nature, than for any help of stay;
and rather by the casting of one's phantasy toward
the other, with a certain feeling of love, than by the
thinking how much profit might ensue of such a thing.
 The which surely, what kind of thing it is, may well be understood even in certain beasts, which so tenderly love their young ones for a certain space, and be so loved of them again, that their nature soon appeareth; which thing in man is much more evident.

First, of the love that is between the children and parents, which cannot possibly, without some heinous mischief, be withdrawn; and secondarily, when a like bearing of love appeareth, as if we have found anybody with whose manners and nature we agree, because we think we see in them as it were, a certain spark of honesty and virtue. For nothing is better beloved than virtue, nor nothing more allureth men to cast favour; in so much, that for virtue and honesty we favour, after a certain sort, even those whom we never saw in our life. For who is that doth not use remembrance of Caius Fabricius, or Marcus Curius,

whom he never saw, with a certain love and good favour toward them? Who, again, doth not hate Tarquinius the Proud, Spurius Cassius, and Spurius Mælius? With the two captains Pyrrhus and Hannibal, we fought for the empire in Italy. [Notwithstanding,] from the one we withdrew not much our hearts, for his honest name; and the other always the city hated for his cruelty. | But if the power of honesty be so much, that we love the same, yea, in those which we never saw; and more than that, we like it even in our very enemies: what marvel is it, if the hearts of men be moved when they seem to behold the virtue and goodness of such, with whom they may be joined in acquaintance? Although love be fastened by pleasures received, by good will well tried, and acquaintance had, all which things together, when they be laid to the same first phantasy of man's mind and love, a certain wonderful greatness of good-will doth kindle; which if any think it cometh of desire to have a help of stay, that it should be a mean whereby every one should come by that he most desireth, truly they leave us a very base, and no gentlemanly outspring of friendship to be, which of lack and need would have it to issue. But if this were so, then as every man felt in himself smallest ability, so should

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he be most readiest to friendship; which thing is far otherwise. For as every man trusteth most to himself, and as every man chiefly with virtue and wisdom is so furnished that he hath no need of any other, and taketh all his own things to lie in his own power; so he doth most exceed all others in seeking and honouring friendship. For what! Had Africanus any need of me? Nothing at all, truly; nor I of him neither. But I, for certain wonder I was in of his virtue, and he perchance again for an opinion he had of my behaviour, loved me; and our daily company increased our good will. But although many and great commodities ensued thereof, yet did not the cause of our loving one the other come of any hope of such things. For as we be profitable to others and liberal, not of purpose to get thanks (for indeed we make no usury of our pleasures), but even of very nature be given to liberality; so do we think that we ought to covet friendship, not led thereto by hope of reward, but because all the fruit thereof resteth in very love self. We are far from the opinion of these, which after the nature of brute beasts do refer all things to pleasure and sensuality; and no marvel at all; for they which have cast all their minds upon so vile and so loathsome a thing, can have no eye to any heavenly, to any goodly

or godly thing. Wherefore those manner of men we will set aside from our talk; and let us imagine and judge that love's feeling and earnestness of good will is engendered of nature by some proof of honesty declared. Which honesty, who that love do apply themselves to the same, and draw nearer that they may take the use of the company and manners of him whom they began to phantasy, and that they may be mates, and alike in love, readier to do pleasures than to require any. And let this be an honest kind of strife between friends. And thus shall great commodities be taken of friendship; and the beginning thereof shall come of nature, rather than of need, a beginning both weightier and truer. For if profit should fasten friendship, then the same, being changed, should unloose it again. But because nature cannot be changed, therefore true friendships be everlasting.

Thus the first beginning of friendship you see, except peradventure ye have something else to ask.

SCAEVOLA. Nay, Laelius, I pray you go forth with your matter. And as for him here, which is my younger, of mine own head I dare make answer.

FANNIUS. Indeed you say but well; wherefore let us hear forth.

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LAELIUS. Hearken then, my friends, these things,

which many times and oft have been reasoned between me and Scipio concerning friendship. He truly was wont to say there was nothing more hard than friendship to continue unto the last hour of death. For, he would say, it oft times happened, that either it should not avail both parties to have it continue still, or else that friends would not be always of one mind in the matters of the commonwealth. He would say also that men's manners did oft change, sometime by reason of evil luck, sometime as age grew on them. And of these things he would bring an example, by a similitude of boys' state, which was that the hot love of children was oft times cast up with their change of voice; and in case they had continued it till they became young men of full age, yet that friendship was broken some time, either by reason of strife, either by some manner of riot, either by some gain and profit, which both of them, being friends, could not attain to at once. So that, if any had gone on somewhat longer in friendship, yet they brake often times if they fell in any contention for honour or dignity. For he would say there was no sorer pestilence in friendship than covetousness of money, which is in the most part of men; and strife about honour and glory, which is in the best sort of men. Whereupon great enmity

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oft times groweth between right dear friends. He further would say that great variance, and many times just, did spring, when anything was required of friends that was not honest, as either that they should be instruments to [others'] treachery, or else helpers to do wrong; the which thing such as would refuse, although they should do honestly in it, yet should they be reproved of them whose minds they would not follow, as breakers of the law of friendship. But they which had the face to require anything, whatsoever it were, of their friend, he was wont to say, did by their very asking profess that for their friends' sake they would attempt all manner of things. And when such men's malice was once long grown and festered in heart, not only their acquaintance was wont to be given up, but also great and continual hatred grew between them.

These many things so hang over friendship, even as one should say, by destiny, that he said, to escape all these, he thought it to be not only a part of wisdom, but also of very happiness. | Wherefore if ye be pleased, let us first see this point: how far ought love to stretch in friendship; as, if Coriolanus had any friends, whether they ought to have borne weapon with him against their country; whether Vecellinus' friends should have ordered him in his enterprise for the kingdom;

whether Spurius Mælius' friends should have holden with him? We saw Tiberius Gracchus, when he made an upstir in the commonwealth, was forsaken of Quintus Tubero and his companion friends. But Caius Blossius, the Cumæan—a guest of your family, Scaevola—when he came to me as a suitor, because I sat in counsel with Laenas and Rupilius the consuls, alleged this cause for himself that I should pardon him, which was that he had Tiberius Gracchus in such a reverence, that whatsoever he willed, he thought it meet to be enterprised. Then quoth I, “What, and this too, if he would have had you set fire on the Capitol?” “Nay,” quoth he, “he would never have willed me to such a thing; but and if he had once bid me I must needs have done it.” You see how shameful a saying this was; and in very deed so he did, yea, and rather more than he said; for he did not follow Tiberius Gracchus' rashness, but was also a ringleader to it, nor made not himself a companion of his fury, but a captain. And therefore in this madness, being afraid of a new examination, he fled into Asia, and got him to our enemies, and in the end suffered just and grievous punishment of our city.

There is therefore none excuse for the fault, if a man offend for his friend's sake; for seeing the opinion

There is therefore none excuse for the fault, if a man offend for his friend's sake; for seeing the opinion

of one's virtue is the breeder of friendship, it is hard for friendship to remain if one swerve from virtue. But if we agree it to be honest, both to grant to our friends whatsoever they would have, and to obtain of our friends whatsoever we desire, there truly we be of a thorough tried wisdom, if there can be no fault found with the thing. But our speaking is of the friends that be in our eye daily, of such as we see, or such as we have heard of, and our daily experience teacheth us. Out of these sorts we must take examples, and of them chiefly who come nearest to wisdom. We know that Paulus Aemilius was of much familiarity with Caius Luscinius, as we have heard of our fathers, and that they were twice consuls together, and fellows in office of the censorship. And we read also in stories that in that time Marcus Curius and Titus Coruncanius were great friends with them, and dearest one to the other also among themselves. Therefore we cannot so much as suspect or deem that any of these would have earnestly required anything of their friend, that should have been against their faith, against their oath, or against the commonwealth. For to what purpose were it, to say that these evils were in such men? For if they had earnestly required anything in that manner, I know

they could not have obtained, forasmuch as these we
 spake of were very godly men. ~~But~~ let it, be of a like
 evil to grant, as to make an dishonest suit. Yet Caius
 Carbo consented to Tiberius Gracchus, and so did
 Cato, [who at that time was never a whit] his brother
 Caius' enemy, but at this present is his earnest adver-
 sary. Let this then be the first law enacted in friend-
 ship, that neither we require dishonest things, nor,
 being desired, do any. For it is a foul excuse and in
 no wise to be allowed, when a man shall either in
 private faults, other else in faults against the common-
 wealth, confess he did it for his friend's sake. For we
 are now, O Fannius and Scaevola, set in such place,
 that it behoveth us long afore to foresee the chances
 that may happen to the commonwealth. For the old
 custom of our fathers already is somewhat swerved
 from her course and race. Tiberius Gracchus went
 about to have gotten the kingdom, and ruled as a king,
 too, for certain months. Did ever the people of
 Rome hear or see the like? And his friends and kins-
 folk [also] after his death, did follow the example of
 him. What parts they played against Publius Scipio
 Nasica I cannot without tears report. For as for
 Carbo, whom we spake of erewhile, we did suffer and
 bear with [him], because of Tiberius Gracchus' new

*A somewhat better man than Tiberius Gracchus
 brother Caius followed him, he who
 was so wicked. See above*

punishment. But what I look to follow of Tiberius Gracchus' tribuneship, I lust not to prophesy; for from thence cometh all matters which be ready for mischief; and after they once begin, they follow headlong on. Ye see already aforehand in the tables of the laws, how great a decay hath happened, first by the law called Gabinia, and then within two years after, by the law called Cassia. And methinks I do already see the commonalty of Rome divided from the senate, and that the greatest matters be ordered after the will of the people. For more men shall learn how such things may be done than how they may be withstood. But to what end speak I all this? Verily, because no man goeth about any such thing without fellowship. The honest sort therefore must be warned, if unawares they light by any adventure in such a kind of friendship, that they think not themselves so bound but that they may forsake their friend, if in any great matter they conspire against the commonwealth. And for naughty men a punishment must be devised, and no less for such as follow others than for those which be the very captains and ring-leaders themselves of all wickedness.

Who was nobler, who was of more power in all Greece than Themistocles? who being captain in th

*The celebration of the day, and the manner of
celebration see the end of the book, which*

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war against the Persians, when he had delivered Greece from bondage, and afterward was banished for envy, could not bear the [same] envy of his unthankful country which his part was to have borne. He played the like part that Coriolanus did with us twenty years ago. These twain found no aid against their country, and therefore they killed themselves. Wherefore, such naughty men's conspiracy is not to be cloaked with any excuse of friendship, but rather punished with all extremity; that no man may think it lawful to follow his friend that makes war against his country.

through

beginning

Which thing (as the world beginneth to go), I wot not whether one day it will be so [or not]. But truly I for my part have no less care what the state of the commonwealth shall be after my death, than what it is at this day. Let this therefore be agreed to be the first rule of friendship, that we ask of our friends things that be lawful, and do for our friends' sakes things that be honest; and that we look not upon our friend till he desire us, but that goodwill be always ready, and that slackness be not used. Let us be glad indeed to give faithful counsel. Let them be of great account in friendship, which counsel well; and let us give them a rule over us, to warn us not only plainly, but also, if need be, sharply; and such

not

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authority given must be obeyed. ~~For I suppose~~ ^{For I suppose} some wonderful wonders pleased some of them, whom I hear say were taken for wise in Greece. But there is nothing but that they can descant thereon with their quiddities: as, for example, we should avoid friendship with too many; for that one man thereby must needs be careful for many, and that it is enough to do, every man to care for his own. Also, to be overmuch cumbered with other men's matters (they say) is unwieldy; and to have the reins of friendship at length, to pluck straiter or make slacker as one will, they think it a pleasure. For, they say, quietness is the chief point of happiness; which the mind cannot enjoy, if one must bear the burden, or as it were travail with child, for many. Another sort of them (they say) speak much more beastly yet than this, which place, a little above, I briefly touched; and that was, that friendship ought to be desired for an help and stay's sake, and not for good-will and favour, to any body. And therefore, as every man hath little stay and little succour, so he should the more seek after friendship. And for this cause (they say) it is, that women seek more the help of friendship than men, and the poor more than the rich, and the wretched more than the fortunate.

O gay and goodly wisdom! For they go about to take the sun out of the world, that would take friendship out of it, than the which we have of God nothing better nor nothing pleasanter. For what manner of quietness is this? Truly to see to, pleasant, but in very deed at many times to be refused. For it is not reason either not to take in hand, or to leave off (being taken in hand) any honest cause or deed, because thou wouldest not be troubled. But if we will refuse pain, we must also refuse virtue, which must of necessity with a certain painfulness despise and hate his contraries; as, for example, the good must hate the evil, the chaste the lecherous, the hardy the cowardly. Therefore you see the right most of all grieved with unrighteousness, the mighty with the weaklings, the honest with the shameless. This therefore is the property of a well-stayed mind, to rejoice at good things, and to be grieved with the contraries. Wherefore, if grief of mind light in a wise man (as in very deed it doth, except we suppose the nature of man is clean rooted up out of his heart) what cause is there that we should utterly abolish friendship from the life of man, because we would suffer no troubles for it? For what difference is there, I say not between a beast and a man, but even between a man and a

^D
*Let'se Mithen. called the chousing of feere
Lesse because of its uttermost severance
was against the Holy Ghost.*

stone, or a dead stock, or any such-like thing, if you take away the movings and modes of the mind?

Neither are these to be heard, that will needs have virtue to be an hard thing, as it were, like iron. Which truly as well in many things, as also in friendship, is easy and gentle; so that at the good fortune of his friend it spreadeth itself abroad, and at his misfortune it shrinketh in again. Wherefore this grief of

mind that is oft-times to be taken for friends, is not so great as it ought to take away friendship among men; no more than virtue should be refused because it bringeth with it many cares and troubles of mind.

But forasmuch as virtue knitteth friendship together (as I said afore), if any spark of virtue do appear, whereunto one of a like mind may apply and join itself, there love must necessarily grow, when such a thing happeneth. For what is so beastly as to be delighted with these many kind of vain things, as honour, glory, building, apparel, and decking of the body; and not marvellously to be delighted with such a mind, endued with virtue, as both can love, and yield love for love again. For there is nothing goodlier than requiting of benefits, nor anything pleasanter than the interchanging of love and duty. And also, if you put this unto it, which may well be added, that there

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is nothing which allureth and so draweth aught unto it, as likeness of conditions doth one to friendship. This surely is granted to be true, that the honest love the honest, and so haunt together, as men near joined by kindred and nature. For nothing more coveteth, or is more eager of his like, than nature. Wherefore this is plain, O Fannius and Scaevola, in mine opinion, that the honest bear toward the honest a certain goodwill, as of course, which is appointed by nature to be the wellspring of friendship. But this kind of goodness also should appear toward the common sort. For virtue is not churlish nor empty-handed, nor yet lofty; but her custom is to defend all men, and to do the best for them she can. Which thing undoubtedly she would not do, if she disdained the common sort.

Furthermore, methinketh those men that for profit's sake dissemble friendship, do clean take away the lovingest knot of friendship. For the very profit gotten by one's friend doth not so much like one, as his friend's very love doth delight him. And then is that which cometh from a man's friend a pleasure, when of good will and love it proceedeth. And it is so beyond reason, that friendship should be sought for necessity, seeing that those which be endued with wealth, riches (and virtue chiefly, wherein most aid is,

have no need of any other, and be most liberal and bounteous. And I know not whether it be a meet thing, that friends should never need anything; for where should ~~our~~ good will have appeared, if Scipio had never needed, never favour, never counsel, never ~~our~~ assistance, neither in peace nor in war. ~~There-~~fore friendship hunts not after profit, but profit followeth friendship. Men, then, that swim in riches be not to be heard, if they shall at any time dispute of friendship, in which neither by experience nor by knowledge they have any understanding. For who is there (in very sadness), that neither to love any, neither to be loved again, would wallow in all riches, and live with plenty of all things earthly? For this kind of life is for tyrants, wherein there is no trustiness, no love, no hope of assured good will, but all things ever more suspected and cared for; nor there is no place of friendship; for who can love one whom he feareth? or else love one whom he dreadeth. Such yet be honoured with feigned friendship, only for a time, that if they happen to take a fall (as it doth many times come to pass), then is it well perceived how naked they be of friends. Which thing, the report goeth, Tarquinius the tyrant said, at such time as he was banished, that he well understood what

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friends he had faithful and who unfaithful now when he was able to recompense neither of them. And yet I marvel if in that his pride and loathsome conditions he could possibly have any at all. And as this man's manners, of whom we have spoken, could not purchase any true friends, so many men's riches, that be in high authority, do clean shut out, as it were, true friendship. For Fortune herself is not only blind, but maketh these also oftentimes blind whom she [most] embraceth. And therefore for the most part they are puffed up with pride and disdain; and nothing is so irksome as a fool in good fortune. And this a man may see, that such as beforesometimes were of indifferent manners, by rule, power and prosperity, do change and despise their old friends and lean to new. But what more foolish thing can be than to study they may be able, with great heaps and plenty, to get other things that be sought for, ~~as~~ money, horses, servants, gay clothing, and costly plate, and yet not to seek for friends, being the best and goodliest riches of this life? For they know not for whom they get other things, when they are gotten, nor to whose use they travail; for every one of these be his, which will win them with strong hand. But friendship once gotten abideth with every man steadfast and surely.

And although these things continue, which be, as one would say, the gifts of fortune, yet a [rude] life [and] destitute of friends cannot be pleasant. But here an end of this matter. |

And now we must set out how far the bounds and points of love do reach in friendship. Whereof I see there be three opinions, and I allow neither of them.

- 1 One is, that we so love our friend as we do ourselves.
 2 The other, that our good will toward our friends does alike and equally answer their good will toward us.
 3 The third, that how much every man setteth by himself, so much he should be set by of his friends. But I agree to none of these three opinions.

For the first is not true, that every man is alike-hearted toward his friend as he is toward himself. For how many things enterprise we for our friend's sake which for ourselves we would never do; as, to pray and sue to an unworthy man for our friend's cause; to be over-earnestly bent against one, and to pursue him very sore; which things in our own matters stand not well with honesty, but in our friend's causes be most honest. There be many things also in which the honest sort both take away, and suffer to be taken, from their own gains, to the end their friends rather than themselves may enjoy them.

The second opinion is that appointeth friendship to use like benefits and like good-will; but this is too strait and too near, to bring friendship to be weighed in balance, as though there ought to be a like jump measure of taking and receiving of pleasures. Methinketh true friendship is a richer and a bountifuller thing, and doth not take so narrow heed to give no more than it may receive. Neither is there such fear to be taken in friendship, that we lose not a good turn, or let it fall in the mire, or that we heap not up more benefits than just measure.

The third is the worst, which is, that how much every man maketh of himself, so much he should be made of by his friends. But in some, oftentimes either there is a more bashful spirit or a more comfortless hope of amending their state. It is not therefore the property of a friend, to be toward him as he is toward himself; but he ought rather to study and find the means that he clear up his friend's dismayed mind, and bring him in a more hope and better comfort. There is therefore another end of true friendship to be made; ~~so that~~ first I shall tell that which Scipio was wont chiefly to reprove. He would deny that any saying could be found more against friendship than this, that said men ought so to love, as at

some time they should hate. And he could not be brought to believe that this was said by Bias, as it was reported, who was one of the seven wise men ; but that it was the saying of some vile and ambitious man, or else of one that would bring all things to his own power and sway. For how can one be his friend, whose enemy he thinks also to be. For, first, he must needs desire and wish that his friend might very often offend, that he might give, as it were, occasions to chide. Again, he must needs be grieved and fretted, or else envy at his friend's good hap and doings. Wherefore this rule truly were enough (whosoever it be) to destroy friendship. But this rather were meet, to have a rule made, that we should use such wariness in providing of friends, that we should not begin to love him, whom at any time we might after hate. Besides, if we had not been most fortunate in choosing of our friends, yet Scipio thought men should bear that mischance rather than to seek an occasion of falling out. | These ends in friendship therefore I think be to be used, that when friends' manners be honest, all their goods, counsel, and good will should be as common among them, without any exception ; and also, if chance so come to pass, that the dishonest doings of friends be to be

Yet these two things make men for the most part to be noted of unsteadfastness and lightness; if either in their own prosperity they set their friends light, or in their friends' adversity they cast them off.

Who therefore shall show himself in both these discreet, steadfast and faithful in friendship, him ought we to judge of the perfectest kind of men, and in a manner as a god. | For the groundwork of that steadfastness and constancy which we seek to be in friendship, is faithfulness; for nothing is steadfast that is unfaithful.

Besides, it is fit we choose our friend simple, familiar, good to agree with, and one that will be moved with the same things wherewith we be; all which things belong to the faithfulness that ought to be in friendship. For neither can he be faithful, that will be in many minds, or that hath a turning head; nor he steadfast and sure that is not of the same mode that his friend is, and agreeable to his nature. Hereunto must be joined, that he which shall be a friend, may not take pleasure in accusing, nor lightly believe accusations offered, which things belong to that steadfastness whereof erewhile I entreated. And so cometh it to be true, which in the beginning I said, that friendship cannot be but between good men. For it is the

the intent we may so use our friendship as men that had assayed their horse, and somewhat tried the manners of their friends. Many men often times in a little money matter be found how unconstant they be. There be other some again, whom when a little money cannot attempt, by a great sum of money may be soon known. But if some may be found which think it beastly to set money before friendship; where then shall we find them that do not set honour, rule, authority and power, before friendship; that when these be set forth on the one side, and the power of friendship on the other side, who is there that will not rather choose the first than the last? For man's nature is weak to refuse rule, which if men follow and little regard friendship, they think they are to be excused, because not without a great occasion they have broken off friendship. Therefore true friendship is very hardly found in them which live in honour and rule. For where can you find such a one as would prefer his friend's honour before his own? But to leave these, how grievous and dangerous do most men think it, to be fellows and partners in miseries, whereto not one is easily found that will be content to come; although Ennius said well:—

“The sure friend in things unsure is known;”

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XVIII.

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property of a good man (whom we may also call wise), to keep these two rules in friendship: first, that nothing be feigned nor dissembled; for it is more honest openly to hate, than in countenance to cloak; next, that not only he clear his friend of faults whereof he is charged by any other; but also that he himself in no wise be suspicious, or think his friend hath done anything amiss.

There must be besides this a certain pleasantness in one's talk and fashions, which is not one of the worst sauces for friendship. But sourness and solemnness

must in no wise be had; yet sadness and sageness in all matters have in it surely a certain gravity. But friendship ought to be somewhat more at large, more free and pleasant, and to all fellowship and gentleness more disposed. |

And here riseth a very hard question, whether our new friends, worthy of friendship, be to be preferred before our old, as we use to esteem young horses more than old: a doubt surely unseemly for men; for of friendship, as there is of other things, ought there to be no glutting. And our oldest kind of things, like good old wines, ought to be most regarded. And that is a true-said law, which commonly is said, that we must eat many bushels of salt together, with whom we shall perform the parts of friendship. Yet new acquaintances

be not to be refused if there be any hope in them, as in good trees where appeareth fruit. And yet old acquaintance must be kept in his due place; for in old friends and acquaintance and custom is no small trust. *not small*

And as to the horse whereof we made mention erewhile, if nothing let, there is none but had rather use him whom he hath used, than a new and unhandled. Neither doth custom much only in living things, but also in things lacking life. For even with hilly places and woody countries be we delighted, wherein we have dwelt long.

But it is a chief point in friendship, the higher to be equal with the lower. For often times there be certain graces in it; as was in Scipio towards our company of friends; he never put himself forth before Philus, before Rupilius, before Mummius or any of his baser friends; but he honoured Quintus Maximus his brother, as his better, because he was his elder, who was surely a notable man, yet nothing like him. And he was desirous that all his friends might be made richer by him; which all men must both do and follow, that, if they get any betterness of virtue, wit, or fortune, they should part it among their friends, and part it with their kinsfolks; as if they be born of a low stock, or else have their kindred either in wit or substance worse

2) *Superiorum virtutes in seipsum non habent*
hinc certum est, quod in seipsum non habent

the intent we may so use our friendship as men that had assayed their horse, and somewhat tried the manners of their friends. Many men often times in a little money matter be found how unconstant they be. There be other some again, whom when a little money cannot attempt, by a great sum of money may be soon known. But if some may be found which think it beastly to set money before friendship; where then shall we find them that do not set honour, rule, authority and power, before friendship; that when these be set forth on the one side, and the power of friendship on the other side, who is there that will not rather choose the first than the last? For man's nature is weak to refuse rule, which if men follow and little regard friendship, they think they are to be excused, because not without a great occasion they have broken off friendship. Therefore true friendship is very hardly found in them which live in honour and rule. For where can you find such a one as would prefer his friend's honour before his own? But to leave these, how grievous and dangerous do most men think it, to be fellows and partners in miseries, whereto not one is easily found that will be content to come; although Ennius said well:—

“The sure friend in things unsure is known;”

Yet these two things make men for the most part to be noted of unsteadfastness and lightness; if either in their own prosperity they set their friends light, or in their friends' adversity they cast them off.

Who therefore shall show himself in both these discreet, steadfast and faithful in friendship, him ought we to judge of the perfectest kind of men, and in a manner as a god. | For the groundwork of that steadfastness and constancy which we seek to be in friendship, is faithfulness; for nothing is steadfast that is unfaithful.

Besides, it is fit we choose our friend simple, familiar, good to agree with, and one that will be moved with the same things wherewith we be; all which things belong to the faithfulness that ought to be in friendship. For neither can he be faithful, that will be in many minds, or that hath a turning head; nor he steadfast and sure that is not of the same mode that his friend is, and agreeable to his nature. Hereunto must be joined, that he which shall be a friend, may not take pleasure in accusing, nor lightly believe accusations offered, which things belong to that steadfastness whereof erewhile I entreated. And so cometh it to be true, which in the beginning I said, that friendship cannot be but between good men. For it is the

THE A
rules 50

XVIII

B

the good with the wicked, and the wicked with the good, cannot be friends, but for that there is between them so great difference, as the greatest may be, of manners and affections.

It may be also a good lesson in friendship, that no man hinder his friend's profit through unmeasurable love toward him, as it often happeneth. For to come to fables: if Neoptolemus would have heard Lycomedes, with whom he was brought up, when he would have stayed his journey with much weeping, he could never have taken Troy. And oftentimes there chanceth weighty matters why a man must depart from his friends, the which whosoever would let or trouble because he cannot bear well his absence, is to be counted a weakling and cockney-natured; and therefore unreasonable for friendship. And in all things we must take heed both what we ask of our friend, and what we suffer to be obtained of us. | There happeneth also many times, as it were, a certain necessary lamentation for the parting of friendship—for now our talk turneth from sage mens' to the common peoples' friendship. Ofttimes friends' faults burst out, partly upon friends and partly upon strangers; yet the shame redounds to their friends.

Such sort of friendship therefore must be eased with

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I derive it out as by fire, as a matter of course
and that it cannot be had that the
last section OF FRIENDSHIP 47
XXI.

leaving of company, and, as I have heard Cato say, must be unhaunted rather than hastily broken off, except some unbearable injuries shall fire it out as a thing neither comely, neither honest, neither fit to be, without a present change and a severance. But if there shall be a certain change in their manners and likings, as sometime there happeneth, or some variance shall fall about some part of the commonwealth (for I speak, as I said a little afore, not of wise men's but common friendship), a wariness is to be used, lest friendship seem not only to be left off, but malice also to be bred. For nothing is more dishonest than to be at war with him with whom thou hast friendly lived. Scipio for my sake (as you know) had severed himself from Quintus Pompeius' friendship. For the dissension that was in the commonwealth he was also withdrawn clean from our fellow in office, Metellus. Both these he did sagely, with authority and no great grief of mind. Wherefore we must first take heed that dissension happen not among friends, and that their friendship seem rather ~~cut off~~ than ~~oppressed~~. Also we must beware that great friendships turn not into great hatreds, whereof chidings, tauntings, and evil reports do rise, which yet be to be borne if anyway they be sufferable. And here is the honour of old

E

with gravity

with gravity

friendship to be given, that the fault always ^{renders} be in the doer, and not in the sufferer of wrong. There is one counsel and ease for all these vices and discommodities, and that is that we love not over soon, nor love the unworthy. They be worthy of friendship, in whose self there is a cause why they should be beloved. It is a rare kind; and surely, all worthy things be rare; yea, and nothing harder than to find a thing in his kind through perfect. But the most part of men in worldly things will knowledge nothing good but that is profitable, and like beasts they love those friends chiefly of whom they hope they shall receive most profit. Therefore they want that fairest and natural-est friendship which is to be sought even by itself and and for itself's sake; neither do they show unto themselves any token or example of the strength of this friendship, what and how much it is. For every man loveth himself, not as though he would challenge of himself a reward for his love, but because every man of nature is dearest to himself; which kind of love and dearness whoso doth not use it in friendship shall never be found a true and faithful friend. For he surely is a friend that is another I. ~~That~~ if it appear in beasts, in fowls, in cattle, in fish, in swine, and wild savage, first that they love themselves (for that property is

La. c. 10.

given to every living thing from ~~the first~~ birth) and next that they covet and lust after ~~some~~ other beasts of their kind with whom they may be conversant, and that they do with a desire and certain likeness to man's love: how much the more is it by nature in man, who both loveth himself and ~~gets him~~ another with whom he may ~~break~~ his mind, as though of two he would make, almost, one. } But the most sort of men even frowardly (I will not say shamefully) would have such a friend as they themselves cannot be; and those things which they do not to their friends, they yet ~~themselves~~ will crave of them. But it is first meet that one be good himself, and then seek, after, for his like; for in such, that kind of steadfast friendship which I treated of erewhile may be surely settled, when men, joined together with good will, will first rule those affections which others do serve, and then take a pleasure in uprightness and justice; and the one will take in hand all things for the other, and one will not require of another anything but that is honest and lawful; and they will not only agree and love together, but they will also stand in a shamely awe of each other. For he that taketh away honest bashfulness from friendship doth take away friendship's chief beauty.

Therefore in those men is a ~~very~~ dangerous error,

These

seek
 to make
 XXII.
 unjustly

F.

are content

the

which think that by friendship a gate is set open to all lust and vice. For friendship is given by nature as an aid to virtue and not as a guide to vice, to the intent that, seeing virtue cannot achieve alone to the chief things, she should come, ~~as it were~~, in arm and accompanied with another. Which kind of fellowship if either it be, either hath been, or shall be amongst any, they must be said best and luckiest accompanied for the attaining of nature's chief happiness. For this is, I say, the very fellowship wherein all things be, which men think to be wished after, as honesty, glory, quietness and pleasure of mind; so that where these be there is the happy life, and without these it cannot be. The which life, seeing it is the best and chiefest thing, we must give our mind to virtue, if we will obtain it, without which neither friendship nor anything else to be desired, we can attain to. And surely where virtue is despised, those which think they have friends do then feel they were deceived, when any weighty adventure doth drive them to make a trial.

Wherefore, when you have judged of your friend, you must love, and not when you have loved, then judge. Yea, and this had need yet oftener to be told you. But whereas in many things we be much punished for negligence, yet most of all in loving and

"(dicendum est etiam de amicis)" 4 p. 29

Yet these two things make men for the most part to be noted of unsteadfastness and lightness; if either in their own prosperity they set their friends light, or in their friends' adversity they cast them off.

Who therefore shall show himself in both these discreet, steadfast and faithful in friendship, him ought we to judge of the perfectest kind of men, and in a manner as a god. | For the groundwork of that steadfastness and constancy which we seek to be in friendship, is faithfulness; for nothing is steadfast that is unfaithful.

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into

the ...
to ...
school ...
made ...
solitary ...
James ...
Archytas ...
to ...
that ...
without ...
x

For friendship, I wot not how, creepeth through
 all ~~kind of~~ lives, and will suffer no ~~part~~ of a man's
 life that is led, to want her. So if there be any of that
 sourness and grimness of nature, that he flieth and
 hateth the company of ~~fellowship~~ of men (of the which
 sort we have heard say ~~one of the~~ Timon of Athens
 was, ~~but which of them I know not~~), yet he could
 not abide, but must needs seek after one to whom he
 might vomit up even the bitterness of his gall. And
 this chiefly would be judged, if any such thing might
 happen, that God would take us out of this press
 of men, and would set us somewhere in a wilderness,
 and giving us there store and plenty of all things which
 nature desireth, would take from us the liberty of
 seeing any man at all. Who were there so stony-
 hearted that could abide that kind of life? And from
 whom would not solitariness take the fruit of all
 pleasures? Therefore that is true, which, I trow I have
 heard our elders tell, was wont to be ~~fathered on~~
 Archytas the Tarentine, and so they heard ~~say~~ of other *for*
 old men, that is, if any man should climb to heaven
~~once~~ and thoroughly behold the nature of the world
 and the beautifulnes of the stars, ~~it~~ would be an un-
 pleasant wonder unto him, which would have been
 a most pleasant marvel if he had any with whom he

... illam ... si forte ...

be not to be refused if there be any hope in them, as in good trees where appeareth fruit. And yet old acquaintance must be kept in his due place; for in old friends and acquaintance and custom is no small trust.

And as to the horse whereof we made mention erewhile, if nothing let, there is none but had rather use him whom he hath used, than a new and unhandled. Neither doth custom much only in living things, but also in things lacking life. For even with hilly places and woody countries be we delighted, wherein we have dwelt long.

But it is a chief point in friendship, the higher to be equal with the lower. For often times there be certain graces in it; as was in Scipio towards our company of friends; he never put himself forth before Philus, before Rupilius, before Mummius or any of his baser friends; but he honoured Quintus Maximus his brother, as his better, because he was his elder, who was surely a notable man, yet nothing like him. And he was desirous that all his friends might be made richer by him; which all men must both do and follow, that, if they get any betterness of virtue, wit, or fortune, they should part it among their friends, and part it with their kinsfolks; as if they be born of a low stock, or else have their kindred either in wit or substance worse

^{let's beware of be led to ill}
 not for the truth; and ~~much fault in him that for~~
^{flattering} ~~deceit is given to soothing.~~ Herein therefore we must
^{quack"}
^{"retard"}
^{beard"}
 have all our regard and wariness, that our warnings be
 without bitterness, and our chidings without spiteful-
 ness; but in soothing (^{because} I delight to use Terence's ^{for}
 word), let there be an honest liking, and let flattery,
 the egger-on of vice, be set aloof, which not only for
 a friend, but for no honest man is meet. For men
 live after one sort with a tyrant, and after another sort
 with a friend. But his good days be to be despaired
 of, whose ears be so shut up from the truth that he
 will not hear it of his friend. For it is a ~~tried law~~ ^{or}
^{Ted saying} of Cato's, that earnest foes deserve much more pleasure
^{often} of some than those that seem to be fawning friends;
^{are} for they some time, but these never tell the truth.
 And this is too too foolish, that those who be warned
 of their friends ~~be~~ not aggrieved at that they ought, ^{to}
 but at that they ought not. For they be not sorry
 they did amiss, but they take it unkindly ~~that~~ ^{to}
 be chidden; whereas contrary-wise, they should be sorry
 for their fault and glad of the chiding. | As then to
^{8 x v.} warn our friend and to be warned again is the property
 of true friendship, and to do the one honestly and not
 spitefully, and to take the other gently and not fro-
 wardly; so must we think there is no greater pestilence

No complimentary names are too numerous for

OF FRIENDSHIP XXXV 55

in friendship than flattery, fair speech and soothing. ~~Howbeit for many causes, this may be noted~~ the fault of light and subtle persons, which speak all to pleasure, but nothing to truth. But whereas dissimulation is evil in all things (for it keepeth a man from judging the truth), yet most of all it is contrary to friendship; for it taketh away all truth ~~in word~~, without the which the very name of friendship cannot continue. For seeing the power of friendship is in a man to none other end but that of two minds there should be made one, how can it be brought to pass, if in one man there be not one and a like mind always, but a diverse, a wavering, and a changeable? For what thing can be ~~made~~ so variable, so out of course, as his mind, which not only turneth at every man's phantasy and pleasure, but also at every man's beck and look:—say ye 'nay,' and 'nay' say I; say ye 'yea,' and 'yea' say I; and to to be plain, I have even appointed with myself to ~~hold up~~ all things with ~~yea and nay~~, as the same Terence saith. But ~~this~~ Terence speaketh in Gnatho's person; which kind of ~~speaking~~ to make ~~in~~ a friend were too too much lightness. But whereas there be many like these Gnatho's, and in place, riches, and estimation above others, their kind of flattery is very hurtful, when authority is joined with their vanity. But a

Jobs of haze
give/
according

assent to

7/11

decent.

can

flattering friend may be as well discerned and known from a true friend by taking good heed, as all counterfeit and feigned things may be tried out from true and right things. The assembly of the commons of a city, which standeth most of unskilful persons, is wont yet to judge what difference is between a people-pleaser (that is, a flatterer and a curry-favour) and a constant, a sage, and a discreet citizen. With the which kind of flatteries Caius Papirius, [consul] stuffed a-late the people's ears, when he would have made a law for the restoring of the tribunes for the commons. *9* We persuaded the contrary; but I will say nothing of myself — of Scipio I will speak gladly. Good Lord, how pithy was he that day! how great a majesty was in his talk, that you might well have called him the leader of the people, and not a fellow commoner! But [what need I to speak much hereof?] Ye were present, and *his* the oration is in every man's hand. And, by that means, the law ~~for the getting of the people's favour~~, by the voices of the people's ~~self~~ was dashed!

immortalis gratia
voiced by!
of myself!
x
of popular

And ~~that I may return to the matter~~, you remember, when Quintus Maximus, Scipio's brother, and Lucius Mancinus were consuls, how the law of Caius Licinius Crassus, concerning the priests' dignities, was thought ~~to be a foul seeking of the commons~~; for the choice

election of the best

Quod se in scena, id est in concione - : (that is)
Upon the stage, that is in the assembly of the people.

OF FRIENDSHIP XXXV. 57

the colleges was ^{given} turned to the people's benefit; and he
first made this order, to deal more truly with the
common people. Yet the religion of the ever-living
gods (we defending it by our answer) did soon
overcome his oration, which [was even a thing painted
for sale-work, and] was done when I was prætor, five
years before I was consul. Therefore that cause was
defended rather of itself than by authority of the speaker.

was this
x

XXVI. But if in stage plays, wherein many feigned and
^{range} resembled matters be used, truth is regarded, so that
it be set out and declared, what must it be in friend-
ship, which hangs all on truth? In the which, except
you know, as they say, a man's heart to the bottom,
and you show likewise yours, there is no trust nor
^{edness} trial in it; and surely you cannot love nor be loved
when you know not how truly it is meant. Although
this flattery be hurtful, yet can it not hinder none but
him that gives ear to it and is delighted with it; and
so it cometh to pass that he openeth his ears to flatter-
ers, which flattereth and best liketh himself. Virtue
always loveth herself; for she best knoweth herself, and
perceiveth how she is to be loved. But I speak not
now of virtue, but of the opinion which men have of
virtue; for with virtue self so many be not as would
seem to be endued. These sort of men flattery

Steps of play
if

I have spoken

needs
reputation

It is when speaking to the people
turned towards the forum

delighteth, when feigned communication is put forth to please them, and they think that kind of vain talk to be a witness of their praises. This therefore is no true friendship, when the one will hear no truth, and the other is ready to lie. Neither would [the clawing of these trencher-friends, which be] parasites, seem feat and pleasant in comedies, except there were ~~mixed~~ therein ~~some~~ glorious soldiers, [which be Thraso's, as for example (saith Thraso)] "Did Thais, [my woman,] give me great thanks?" It had been enough [for Gnatho the parasite] to have answered "Yea sir, great;" but he said, "Yea, sir, exceeding great thanks." Flattery always sets a thing to the most, which he would have seem great, for whose pleasure it is spoken.

~~Wherefore~~, although this kind of fawning vanity is ~~much~~ esteemed with them which embrace and like it themselves, yet the sager and constanter sort of men must be warned that they take heed they be not snared with subtle flattery. For every man can see an open flatterer except he be a very sot; but we must diligently beware lest the subtle and secret flatterer wind himself in with us; for he cannot easily be known, because even with contrarying of one oftentimes he flattereth, and feigning that he ~~chideth~~ he is ~~fair~~ spoken, and at length he yields and suffers himself to

glorious

seek

more

used
deceiving

Horatius in ante omnia comites
Plutarchus de amicis
Tullius de officiis laudatissime
See p. 103

(these criticisms probably may seem to have been forgotten)

OF FRIENDSHIP x x x 59

be overcome, that he that is deceived may think he hath got a great victory. But what is more dishonest than to be scorned? And therefore we must use the more diligence that it may not hap as in [a play named]

Shameful trial

ele The Epicure: "To-day before all my old, doting, foolish friends, you tossed me goodly and mocked me gaily;" for in plays old men's persons, without forecast and being light of belief, be the most foolish.

See top of page before

ed But I cannot tell by what means, from the friendship of perfect and wise men (I mean in such wisdom as is supposed may be in man), our communication is turned to slight and slender friendship. Wherefore let us come again to the first we spake of, and let us conclude at length upon it. *this discourse.*

very ridiculous

discourse

CVII I say virtue, O Caius Fannius and Quintus Mucius, both getteth and keepeth friends. For in it is all agreement, all steadfastness, and all constancy; which, when she advanceth herself and showeth out her light, and both seeth and knoweth the same in another, she giveth herself to that too, and takes likewise that she findeth in another. Whereupon love and loving friendship toward each other is enkindled; for both these two words have their names of this word, to love. But to love is nothing else but to bear good will toward him whom you love, not for

virtue

received

enkindled
How

"As one lamp lights another, nor grows less."
"Et nihil inter extinguit, nec minus"

1. 2. 2.

vanity any need or profit ~~that~~ is sought; ^{yet} which profit flourisheth ^{yet} of friendship, although you ~~the less~~ nothing follow it. With this kind of good will we, when we ^{appear} were young men, did love Lucius Paulus, Marcus Cato, Caius Gallus, Publius Nasica, Tiberius Gracchus, our Scipio's father-in-law.

This friendship also doth more appear among such as be like of ages, as between me and Scipio, Lucius Furius, Publius Rupilius, and Spurius Mummius.

over the And we old men also do take pleasure in young men's love [towards us], as [you see I am delighted] in yours, and in Quintus Tubero's, being a very young man and in Publius Rupilius [Virginius' company].

and in And seeing an order is appointed in our life and nature that one age may spring of another, chiefly we should desire that [we might live with our like in ages, that even as we came together with them in our swaddling clouts, so we might keep them company to the winding-sheet.]

man things But because ~~this worldly substance~~ is brickle and fading, we always provide some, whom we may love and of them be loved again. For if love and friendship be taken from man, all pleasure of life is taken away. Scipio surely, although he was taken away suddenly from this life, liveth yet with me, and shall live ever. For I always loved the virtue of that

*ut cum aequalibus possis, quibuscum te
et carceribus amicum sis, cum liberis*

man, which is not dead ~~with me~~; neither standeth it daily alone before mine eye, who always have had it in sight, but also to our children's children shall it be noble and notable. No man shall ever enterprise great things with hope and courage, which hath not the image and memory of him before his eyes. Truly, of all things which fortune or nature gave me, I have nothing to match with Scipio's friendship. In it was my conference for the commonwealth; in it was my counsel for private causes; in it was my rest, full of all delight. And I never offended him in anything that ever I could perceive, and I never heard anything of him that I was against. We had one house, one diet, and that even common; yea, not that only, but warfare, and also our journeys and going abroad, were alike common. But what shall I speak of our studies, of searching always, and learning of somewhat; in the which we bestowed all our leisure and time when we were out of the sight of men? The remembrance and on-thinking of the which things, if with him they had died, I could by no means have borne the lack of so friendly and loving a man. But those nother be dead yet, but rather nourished and increased by the on-thinking and remembrance of them. And although I should wholly be bereft of

will without

sorry to hear in /
 happened in /
 country

off

had been

Agreement regarding

62 CICERO'S BOOK OF FRIENDSHIP

ca.
esicario
them, yet mine age self would bring ~~my greatest~~ com-
fort. For I ~~could~~ not very long continue in this
state. And all short griefs be sufferable, although
they be great.

These things be they which I had to speak of friend-
ship, and I do exhort you that you so esteem
virtue (without which friendship
cannot be possible) as, saving it,
ye think nothing better
than friendship.

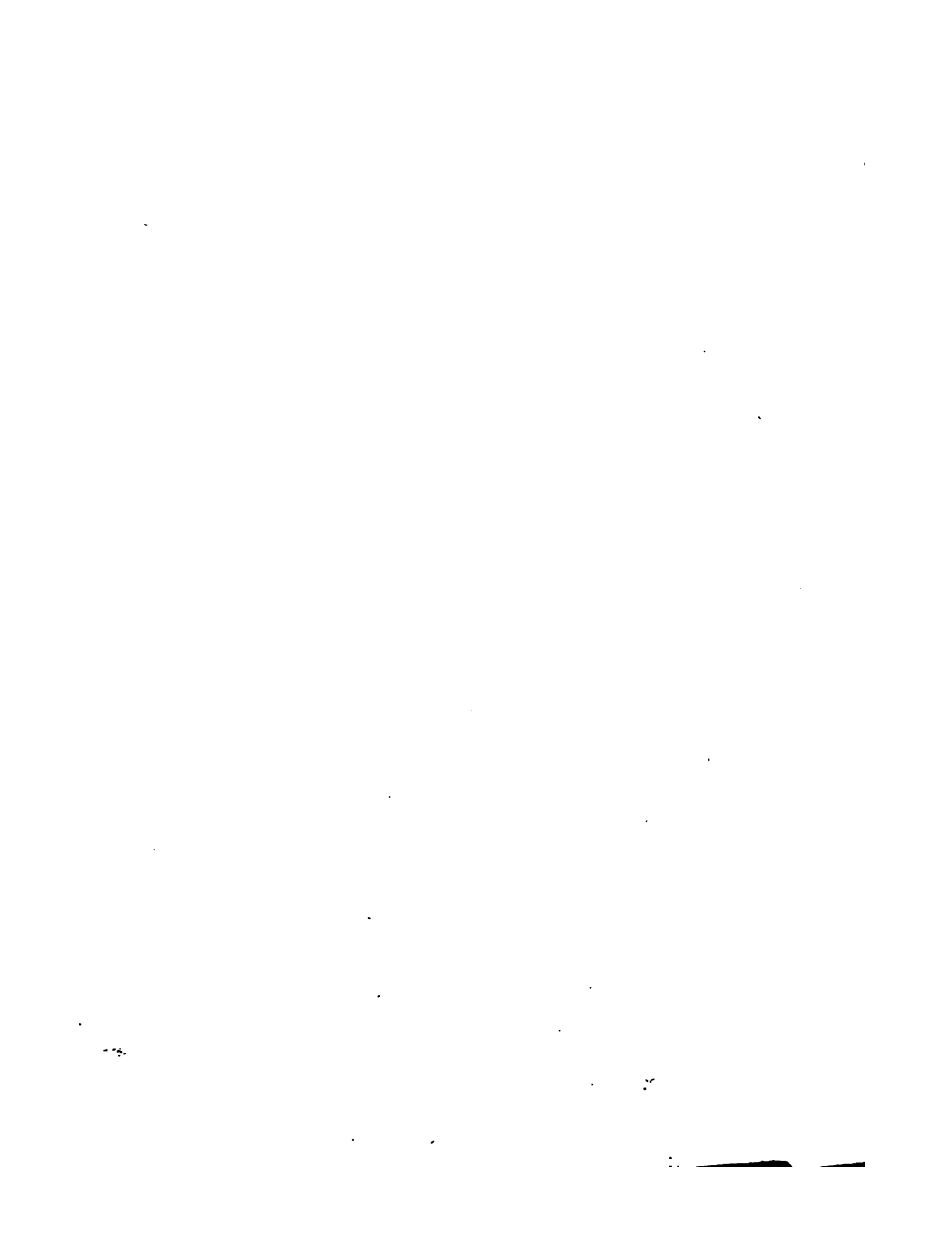
FINIS.

De Senectute

**CICERO'S BOOK
OF OLD AGE**

De Senectute

De Senectute



THE PREFACE OF THE AUTHOR
UNTO TITUS POMPONIUS ATTICUS

L

O Titus, if I ease thee of that pain
And heavy charge, which doth thee sore annoy,
And makes thy heart full pensive to remain,
Shall I herein my labour well employ ?

FOR in speaking unto thee (friend Atticus) I may use the same verses and words, which that ancient and worthy poet, more fully fraughted with honesty and faithful dealing than with worldly pelf and riches, useth in comforting the noble Flaminius; albeit I am well assured, that thou art not so disquieted night and day with pensiveness, care, and sorrow as Flaminius was, for I know thy patient sufferance of all chances and brunts of fortune, and the well-stayed moderation of thy mind. And I do right well understand how that thou hast brought home with thee from Athens not only thy surname, [to be called Atticus,] but also gentle behaviour, courtesy, and prudence. Yet can I not otherwise think but that now and then, as well as I, thou art sore vexed and troubled in mind for the tyrannous

... ..

oppressions and grievous enormities now in our commonwealth perpetrated and committed.] The consolation whereof is so **great** that it cannot in this little book be fully declared, and therefore I will defer it until another time more convenient. At this present time I thought it best to write some little treatise unto thee concerning old age, because I would fain have both thee and myself to be eased of this heavy burthen which is common ~~and indifferent~~ to me as well as to thee (I mean old age), which now already **is** either come upon us, or else ere it be long (~~we may be assured~~) will catch hold on us. Notwithstanding I know well that thou dost and wilt take the same **modestly** and, as it becometh a wise man to do, **patiently**, even as thou art in all other things accustomed.

But whenas I purposed with myself to write somewhat in praise and commendation of old age, I deemed and judged the most worthy unto whom my labour and study in this behalf might be dedicated, which both of us might jointly and commonly use for our comfort and contentation. As for my part, I **promise** thee, I took such **singular** pleasure and **delectation** in the compiling of this Book, that it did not only utterly take away all the **encumbrances** and dis-

commodities of mine old age from me, but rather made the same unto me pleasant, joyful, and delectable. Therefore philosophy can never be sufficiently praised, so much as the worthiness and dignity thereof requireth, whose precepts and rules whosoever obeyeth may pass the whole time of his age, and run the full race of this life, without any irksome grief or trouble. What other utilities and commodities it bringeth I have already in many other of my books at large declared, and mean hereafter many times and often thereof to make ample discourse and mention. But this *Book of Old Age* I have sent unto thee: wherein the pre-eminence and superiority of the disputation is not given to old Tithonus, as Aristochius did in his book, lest in such a feigned fable the whole discourse should be the less esteemed among the readers, but I attribute the chief dignity of it unto the old gray-headed sage, Marcus Cato, to the end the treatise should have more estimation, credit, and authority. And I introduce [as speakers] Laelius and Scipio, [frankly and familiarly] talking with him, and much marvelling to see him so patiently and easily to tolerate his old age, and what answers he made to them again. Whom if thou think more learnedly here to dispute than in his own works he was accustomed, impute the

68 CICERO'S BOOK OF OLD AGE

fluency of *eloquence*
cause to his skilfulness in the Greek tongue, whereof
it is well known that in his old age he was very
studious. But to what purpose should ~~we~~ make any
further preamble, ~~for~~ all that ~~we~~ have to say concern-
ing old age, the talk [and disputation] of Cato himself
shall manifestly declare.

The Speakers' names:

PUBLIUS SCIPIO, CAIUS LAELIUS,
MARCUS CATO.

SCIPIO. Oftentimes both I, and my friend Caius Laelius also, are wont greatly to have in an admiration and to marvel at the excellent and absolute wisdom, O Cato, which thou usest in all other matters and exploits, [whatsoever thou takest in hand]; but [namely and] specially because we never yet perceived thine old age to be burthenous and grievous unto thee, which to the most part of old men is so odious [and unwelcome], that they will say they carry about with them a burthen heavier than the great flaming mountain Ætna. 81, y...

CATO. A [very slight and] easy matter it is (dear friends Scipio and Laelius) which you [do seem] so much to muse and marvel at; for they that have no power, pith of wit, help, way nor virtue in themselves to conduct [and bring] them to a good and blessed life, 82, y...

✓ x
 unto such as these be, all their ^{life} age is cumbersome and unpleasant. But unto such as lead their lives virtuously, [measuring all their actions by the square of reason, and have their minds with all good gifts of grace beautified and garnished,] there is nothing [thought nor] deemed evil that cometh by necessity of nature. Of the which sort old age is principally to be considered, unto which all men wish to arrive, and yet when they have their desire, they accuse it [as painful, sickly, unpleasant and tedious,] such is the ^{life} [brainless] unconstancy, [foolish sottage,] and perverse overthwartness of wayward people.

They say it creepeth and stealeth upon them faster and sooner than they thought it would. First, who causeth them to imagine and think such a false [and peevish] untruth? for why should they think that after their youth [and adolescence] old age creepeth faster upon them, rather than their [adolescence and] youth doth after childhood? [Seeing therefore they do not repine nor complain any whit after that they have been children to grow up to be tall striplings and lusty young men, why should they be aggrieved or think themselves discontented, after they have been striplings and young men, to be old and aged?] Again, if they might reach to the age of eight hundredth

que dicitur deus a se ipso habere

years, what greater pleasure and commodity is therein, or wherein should they think it to be less troublesome and tedious than ~~it is~~ when they be of the age of four-score years? for the age that is once passed and gone, be it never so long, can with no manner of pleasure or delectation comfort, recreate nor mitigate the old age that is in such fond persons. And therefore if you be wont to wonder at me, and to have my wisdom in admiration (which I would to God were correspondent to your good opinion conceived of me, and also answerable to my surname), we are in this only point wise, because we follow nature as a god, and taking her as a sure and infallible guide, direct and level all our actions according to her prescript, laws, and ordinances. Of whom, when all the other parts of age are well described and appointed, it is not like to be true that the last act of all should be negligently played and, as it were of an unskilful and dreaming poet, loiteringly handled. But in age there must needs be some extreme and last end, bending down, drooping and declining from the lustiness and nimble activity that was in flourishing youth, as it happeneth and is plainly to be seen in the berries of trees and other fruits of the earth when they come to their due ripeness and natural maturity,

which every wise man will patiently and willingly tolerate. For what other thing is meant by the temerarious and proud attempt of the giants warring and obstinately fighting with the gods, but to resist and go against nature?

LAELIUS. But you shall do a singular great pleasure unto us both (for I dare undertake for Scipio and speak for him in this point as well as for myself) to give us some fruitful premonition whereby we may aforehand be instructed and also armed (because both desire and hope to live till we be old men) by what means we may most easily suffer and bear out our old crooked age when it cometh.

CATO. I will, Laelius, fulfil your request, and willingly relent to your petition, and especially if I shall thereby do such pleasure unto both of you, as you say I shall.

Seruo. Right glad would we be, if it might please you, and be not too much pains and trouble for you, O Cato, sith you have, as it were, run a great race, and gone a long journey (which path also we must tread) to hear and to understand what kind of thing that is, whereunto you have already arrived. !

CATO. I will do herein, O Laelius, what I am able; for I have oftentimes been in company among

my equals and familiars (for, like with like, according to the old proverb, will keep company and best agree together), who have greatly bewailed the discommodity of their old years, and thought themselves in an ill case by reason of their age, and namely Caius Salinator and Spurius Albinus, men that have been consuls, and in manner of the same age that I myself am, were wont greatly to murmur and repine, sorrowing and lamenting for their old age; not only because they thought themselves to lack pleasures and lascivious pastimes, and to be utterly bereft and debarred from all joys and solaces, without whom they accounted their life to be as no life, but also because they were contemned and despised of those of whom they were wont to be honoured and revered. But, in my opinion, they blamed not that which was blameworthy. For if the cause and blame thereof were to be imputed to old age, then should the same discommodities, corasies, and grievances happen unto me and all other old men, of whom I have known a great many, that have lived in their old age without any whining, complaint, or discontentation: who were well pleased to be ungyved, loosed and delivered out of the yoke of their sensual lusts and voluptuous appetites; who also were never despised of their

friends and acquaintance. But the blame and fault of all this muttering and complaining is in the overthwartness of men's wayward manners, and not in age. For discreet, sober, and temperate old men, being neither ill to please, froward nor churlish, do live in their old age tolerably and quietly enough, both to themselves and all others. But unbridled indolence, and blunt uncourtesy, is in all age unpleasant, tedious, and irksome.

LAELIUS. It is even so as you say, Cato; but there will some peradventure say unto you, that your old age seemeth to you tolerable enough because of your great wealth, riches, and dignity; but there be a great number of others which cannot have such ample possessions, nor such extraordinary helps to alleviate and condulate the asperity and unpleasantness of their decrepit age.

CATO. Indeed, Laelius, that whereof you have now talked is somewhat, but all things do not rest nor consist in them; whereunto agreeth the quick and nipping sentence of Themistocles, unto whom, whenas a certain ~~rascal~~ peasant of the Isle of Seriphos tauntingly and spitefully said, that he had not gotten so great fame and renown of himself, but rather through the noble and glorious celebrity of his flourishing

country: "Thou sayest truth" (said he), "for if I had been a Seriphian born, I should never have been ennobled, nor my name by so many triumphant victories blazed abroad and eternized; neither if thou wert an Athenian born, thou shouldst never aspire to any honourable dignity." In like manner may it be said of old age; for in extreme penury, scarcity, and indigence, it cannot be easily abidden, borne, and tolerated, no, not of a wise man: neither it cannot be but cumbersome and grievous to him that is a fool, although he have never so great plenty, and abundance of all things. The very meetest weapons and fittest instruments for old age, O Scipio and Laelius, are the perfect knowledge, and the active exercises of virtue, which, when it hath been practised all the time of man's age, which have lived a long time, doth bring and yield at length marvellous fruit and commodity, not only because it never shrinketh nor starteth from us, nor yet forsaketh us, no not in the very last point of age (which, truly, is an excellent thing), but also because the conscience of our former life which we have led virtuously, and the remembrance of many good and pitiful deeds beforetime done, and of sundry noble acts valiantly achieved, is very pleasant, comfortable, and delectable unto us.

IV. **Certes** I, when I was a young stripling, did so love
 Quintus Maximus (the same was he that recovered
 the city of Tarentum), being then an old man, as
 though he had been [mine equal, and] of like age as I
 was. For in that [noble and prudent] man, there was
~~to be seen a kind of severity and magnificence,~~
 mingled and powdered with clemency and a merciful
 generosity. His old age never [altered nor] changed
 his wonted manners; albeit when I first began to
 honour and reverence him [for the virtuous magna-
 nimity which I espied to reign in him,] he was not
 very old, but yet he was well stricken in years. For
 I was born one year after he had been the first time
 consul; and in his fourth consulate, I, being a young
 man, was a soldier under him in his expedition to
 Capua: the fifth year after that, I [was made treasurer
 and general receiver at Tarentum: then was I created
 ædilis, and within] four years after, I was elected
 prætor, which office I bare and executed when
 Tuditanus and Cethegus were consuls. At that time,
 he being a very aged man, in public audience coun-
 selled the Senate and people of Rome to **revive** the
 law called *Lex Cincia*, [and to have it to stand in effect
 and to be duly executed.] And being a man far
 grown in years, he warred in the quarrel of his

country, [and to repulse foreign hostility was chosen chieftain and general of the wars, wherein he so manfully acquitted himself with prowesses and policy, and was so courageous and laborious,] as though he had been a lusty young gallant [in his flourishing and fresh years; yea,] and with his [lingering] patience [and procrastination,] repressed [and cooled] the furious attempts [and outrageous invasions] of haughty Hannibal. In whose praise and commendation Ennius writeth these verses following :—

One man, by protracting the time with delay,
 Hath saved our weal-public and restored it again :
 For he never forced, what poisoned tongues did say,
 So that his country in safety might remain.
 Therefore his great glory, and illustrious name,
 Is registered perpetually within the Book of Fame.

x *Ennius*

(2)

What vigilancy and what wisdom used he, when Tarentum was delivered to him! I, myself, at that same time, when Salinator (who had lost the town and was fled into the castle) [made his avaunt and] proudly said to Fabius [these words] :—“By my means it is come pass, and [me only mayst thou thank, O Fabius, for the recovery and regaining of Tarentum,]”—heard him, when he smiled and made this answer to him again :—“It is even true, that thou say’st” (*quoth he*), “for if

1. ... judgement ...
2. ...
3. ...

thou hadst not lost the town, I should not have recovered and won it." [And unto these his valiant exploits and hardy acts in martial affairs, most honourably by warlike prowess and undaunted courage achieved, his grave advice and wise counsel in time of peace concerning civil ordinances and politic regiment, was in all points correspondent] for when he was the second time created consul, and his fellow in office, Spurius Carvilius, not intermeddling with such weighty business as to his office were incumbent, [neither doing anything for the behoof and honour of the commonwealth,] yet he, [remembering his charge and function,] resisted [and withstood] Caius Flaminius, the plebeian tribune, to the uttermost of his power, who had, contrary to the authority of the Senate, presumed and taken upon him to [distribute and divide to everyone, man by man, all that piece of Italy that is called Picenum, and also that part of France that lieth from the mountains called Alps to the river Rubicon.] Also, when he was augur, he would not stick to say that all such things were [fortunately and with good luck enterprised and taken in hand which tended to the profit and behoof of the commonwealth: and contrariwise, those things that were prejudicially attempted to endamage or blemish]

Much [Science] even of literature for a Roman

OF OLD AGE *IV* 79

the sovereign dignity thereof, were unluckily and in an ill time incepted. Many and sundry notable qualities have I known to be incorporate in this noble sage, but none more to be marvelled at than how worthily and patiently he took the death of his son Marcus, who was a man greatly for his deserts renowned, and had been consul. In whose praise and commendation he hath written a funeral oration, right pithy and learned, which when we read we are so ravished with the elegancy and concinne vehemency thereof, that we cannot but say that he surmounteth right famous orators. Yea, what philosopher do we think able to compare and match with him? And his nobleness was not so much and so greatly blazed abroad in the open sight and hearing of men, but his inculpable behaviour and virtuous dealing was far greater and much more to be extolled, which he used privately when he was at home and in his own house. What profound talk used he! What happy sentences uttered he! What wholesome precepts and rules to lead our life by, shewed he! How expert and cunning was he in the monuments of antiquity! How exactly was he seen in the art of divination! [Yea, knowledge and skilfulness was in him (as in a studious Roman) great, exquisite, and manifold.] He

perfectly remembered [and by heart could recompt] all
 - the wars [and exploits, as well civil and] domestic, ^{and} as
 foreign [and external.] Whose talk [and conference so
 greatly] delighted my [greedy and thirsty] mind, as
 - though I had already [conjected and] divined [by an
 inward presage,] that which afterward chanced, that
 when he died I should have none, [nor find none,] to
 resort unto for counsel and learning. | But to what
 V. end do I speak so much of Maximus? Truly,
 because thereby you may see how that it is a great
 villany to say that such an old age as his was, is
 wretched and miserable. But all men cannot be
 - Scipios nor Maximuses to [abbuccinate and] recompt
 what cities they have sacked, [razed, and expugned];
 to proclaim and tell abroad [their martial] conflicts
 both by sea and land, their wars [victoriously main-
 tained, their enterprises fortunately achieved,] nor
 their royal [triumphs gloriously solemnised.] ^{See} For when
 x a man hath led his former life quietly, uprightly,
 godly, and laudably, his old age is easy, mild, pleasant
 and courteous, such as the old age of Plato was, who
 in the eighty-first year of his age, died as he sat writ-
 ing. And such was the old age of Isocrates, who ^{is}
^{we heard} said, that he wrate his work entitled *Panathenaicus* in
^{age himself} the ninety and fourth year of his age, and lived five

years after: whose schoolmaster, Leontinus Gorgias, lived fully a hundredth and seven years, and never [fainted, drooped, nor] gave over his study and labour [which he had in hand.] And when it was demanded of him, why he would wish to live so long: "I have" (said he) "no cause whereby to accuse or mislike mine old age." A notable answer, and worthy to proceed out of the mouth of a famous and learned man. For [doltish sots and beetle-headed] fools do lay all their own faults and blame upon old age: which [the prudent poet] Ennius (of whom we lately made mention, [and whom you may well remember]) used not to do. For he compareth his old age to the old age of a courageous ^{and} courser, or victorious horse, in these words:—

Even as a horse, of courage stout,
 [With comely port and grace,]
 Which oft hath [borne the bell, and] won
 The prize in open race;
 When old age once [with trembling pace]
 Hath him [at length] possess'd,
 [He ceaseth from such frolic feats,
 And] gives himself to rest.

This Ennius, I dare say, you do remember well; for the ~~two~~ ^{present} ~~twain~~, Titus Flaminius and Marcus Attilius, were created consuls the nineteenth year after his

(the latter for the second time)

death, and he died when Cæpio and Philip were the ~~second~~ time consuls, [being seventy years old (for so long did he live),] at which time I being sixty-five years old, [with all my might and main, and] with an audible and firm voice, exhorted the people that the law called *Lex Voconia* might be adjudged good [and effectual, and by authentic authority irrevocably established.]

Insert below

x

and from above

Thus Ennius sustained [and carried] two such burdens as are vulgarly [taken and] supposed to be the greatest that can be, that is, to wit, poverty and old age, yea, and in such sort, that he seemed in a manner to be highly pleased, [and therein to take great objection.] For, in pondering and debating in my mind, I find that there be four principal causes why old age seemeth [wretched and] miserable. One is, because thereby a man is [impeached and] hindered from taking in hand any [function or] charge in the commonwealth; another is, because it enfeebleth [and weakeneth] the body; the third is, because it doth almost take away all pleasure [and lascivious volupty]; and the fourth is, because it is not far off from death. Now let us (if you please) sift [and discuss] the force [and validity] of every one of these causes, and see how just the allegations [of every of them] are. / It hindreth [and draweth] a

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A law regarding legacies to women.

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man back, that he cannot do his affairs and business, and from the administration of diverse offices, From what business and offices? From such as are by the lustiness of youth and bodily strength achieved, Are there no things appertaining to old men, which although their bodies be weak and feeble, yet may by the vigour of the mind be done and administered? Did Quintus Fabius nothing? Did Lucius Paulus, who was thy father, Scipio, and the father-in-law of that worshipful man my son, nothing? And a great sort of old man moe, the Fabricii, the Curii, the Coruncanii, when they maintained and defended the weal-public with their grave counsels and authorities, did they nothing? Appius Claudius was not only old and crooked, but blind also; yet when the Senate with one accord purposed to conclude a peace, and to condescend to a league with Pyrrhus, he was not afraid to speak those words which Ennius in his verses recited:—

Why do your wits
 And senses so rave?
 What foolish conceit
 Doth encumber your brain?
 Where be the ripe judgments,
 Which wont you were to have,
 To agree to your country's
 Ruin most plain?

are given
in the same

also

And much more pursueth he in his poem [concerning the same matter, which] you know well enough. And yet the oration which Appius made is, to be seen, which he made seventeen years after his second consulship, and between his two consulates there were ten years, and he had borne the office of censor before his first consulate. Whereby it may be [well] perceived [and gathered] that when Pyrrhus inferred war upon the Romans he was a very aged man, and so have we heard our fathers [and progenitors] report. Therefore their argument is [weak and] of no force, which say that old age is not occupied in noble affairs and matters of great importance. And they do much like, as if any man should say that the pilot [and conductor of a ship] did nothing, [neither helpeth anything] in sailing, whenas some climb up [and sit in the top of] the masts, some walk upon the hatches, some cleanse the pumps, but he, holding the helm [and stirring the rother,] sitteth quietly in the [stern or] poop, and although he do not the same things which young men do, yet is his service far better and greater than theirs. For matters of great weight are not done with bodily strength, nimbleness, celerity [and deliverness,] but with counsel, wisdom, authority, [and policy.] Whereof old age accustomedly is not only not deprived, but

still

and he
administration

(1) x

(2)

↓ [-]

"Alia pro seculo curant, alia sententiam adhaerent."
He [the old man] does not ...

rather therewith the better [increased, stored and] furnished: unless peradventure you think that I, who have been both a soldier, a tribune, a marshal of the field, a lieutenant of an army, an ambassador, and a consul, and [thoroughly tried] in divers [brunts and hazards of] wars, do now [abandon all my former valiance, and] give myself [to idleness, and to live unprofitably to the commonwealth] because I have succeeded from wars [and feats of arms.] But I do prescribe [orders] unto the Senate, [and shew to them what things] [in mine opinion] are most expedient to be done, and give certain information to them beforehand, how they may make war upon the spiteful Carthaginians, whose cankered hearts have a great while wished and contrived our confusion, whose [malicious stomachs] I shall never cease to fear, until I know [perfectly] that their proud city is destroyed, [ruinated, and utterly subverted.] God grant, Scipio, that thou mayst win the praise of that glorious enterprise, [and that it may be thy lot victoriously to triumph over their unsufferable insolence, repressing their treacherous hautiness by fine force of arms and dent of sword,] and that thou mayst make a final end of that which thy grandfather made tributary: since whose death there are passed thirty-three years, but

at quod
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began
the death was much beforehand, a great challenge for a long time. etc. etc.

his memorial shall never be forgotten, nor razed out of the minds of all posterity. He died the year before I was censor, nine years after my consulship, when he had been elected and created consul the second time, I then having the same office of consul. Think you that if he had lived till he had been a hundredth year old, he would have been weary of his old age? He would not use to make roads and incursions into his enemies' territories and dominions; he would not give himself to leaping, dancing, and skipping, neither to cast darts, and toss pikes afar off; nor with swords to fight and clasp with his adversary hand to hand; but rather to enure himself with wisdom, reason, consultation, and judgment. If these points had not been in old men, our predecessors would not have called the supreme dignity of counsellors by the name of *Senate*. Among the Lacedæmonians they that bare the highest offices, as they be, so also are they called ancients or presbyters. And if you be disposed to hear and read foreign examples, you shall find that noble and flourishing commonwealths have been brought to ruin and servitude by the unripe administration of unskilful young men, and the same by old and sage fathers to have been maintained, corroborated, and recovered. Tell me

receiving &

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council

this, how ~~we~~ lost you your mighty [and populous] commonwealth in so short space?" For to one that moved this question [and demand] (as it is to be seen in the book of the poet Nævius, which he entitl'd *Ludus*) many answers were made, and namely this:—

"There stepped forth new [and strange] orators, foolish [and light-headed] young men, [who bearing chief rule and authority, with their unadvised counsels and peevish rashness have brought our commonwealth to a miserable state and desolation]" Rashness [and temerity] is incident to youth, ~~but~~ prudence [and policy] to old age. [But the memory] (you will perhaps say) in old men faileth, [and waxeth daily worse and worse.] I believe it well, if a man do not [use and exercise it, or if a man be of a dull [and blockish] nature. Themistocles knew every person in the city, [and could call every man by his proper name.] Do you think that in his old age he used [to name one man instead of another, and] to salute Aristides instead of Lysimachus? And I do not only know them that are yet alive, but their fathers and grandfathers also which are dead. Neither do I fear, when I read the epitaphs [and inscriptions of tombs and graves,] lest I should thereby (as the common credulity of people is) lose my memory [and remembrance:] for in reading of

V.L.L.

V.L.L.

the town

and
sings

for

De vita beata et de re publica et de officiis

them I am brought into remembrance of those that are deceased. Neither did I ever hear of any old man that had so weak a memory to forget in what place he laid his purse and hid his treasure. [I warrant you, they remember all such things as they esteem and set store by; they will not neglect nor forget their obligations, and bills of debt, nor their days of appearance before any justiciary unto whom they be indebted, and who to them. ~~They forget not what their counsellors-in-law do give them in charge, what their ordinaries and prelates enjoin to them, what the augurs do prognosticate, and what the philosophers do decide.~~ Oh, how many things do old men remember! Old men have their senses and wits fresh and vigorous, so that they enure themselves with exercise and industry. Which thing is evidently and daily to be seen not only in men of great calling and honourable parentage, but also in private persons and haskerds of low degree. Living quietly, Sophocles compiled and made tragedies, till he came to extreme old age, who being earnestly addicted to his studies, was thought not to care or to take any thought for his household and domestical provision: and therefore was he openly accused of his own sons, and brought before the judges, that they might defeat him from

Mem.

fructus

lib.

hominum

et in

*Quia si quis in senectute sua non fuerit utilis
sibi, non erit utilis civitati. Quia si quis in senectute
sua non fuerit utilis sibi, non erit utilis civitati.*

the use and possession of his goods and riches, and that (as the custom and manner is also among us, when any do negligently look to their business, suffering their patrimony and livelihood to fall in ruin and decay) the judges might depose and sequester him from the claim and use of his goods, as an old dotting coxcomb. But he, understanding their subtlety and unnatural dealing, brought with him to the judgment hall under his gown a certain tragedy which he then had in hand, and had lately written, entitled *Œdipus Coloneus*, and read the same before the judges, demanding of them whether they thought that poem to argue any dotage in the writer: which when he had recited, he was by the sentence of the judges acquitted and discharged. Did old age cause this man, or Hesiodus, or Simonides, or Stesichorus, or Isocrates, or Gorgias (of whom I spake before), or Homer, or the prince of philosophers Pythagoras, Democritus, Plato, Socrates, or of later days Zeno, Cleanthes, or Diogenes the Stoic, whom you personally saw at Rome, to faint and quail in their studies, or to be driven to such a narrow issue that they had not a word to say? Was not the earnest and infatigable agitation of all these men's studies, equal to their life and conversation? Go to, let us omit and speak no

etiam in studiis. in istis studiis. et in
 etiam aequalis fuit.

more of these divine [and abstruse] studies. I can name divers [uplandish] husbandmen of the Sabines, my neighbours and friends, in whose absence [their work goeth so slowly forward, that] nothing almost is dispatched about their husbandry, neither in their tillage and sowing of their corn and fruits, neither in the gathering and bringing them into their barns: **albeit** in them **this** is not so much to be marvelled at. **For** there is no man so old, but he thinketh that he may live one year longer; **and** they toil about such things whereof they do well know that they shall not live to enjoy the profits. "They plant [and graft] trees which shall yield fruit, not to them, but to their [succession and] posterity," as one Statius in his book called *Synephebi* declareth. And if any husbandman (be he never so old) be [demanded and] asked to whose behoof he [graffeth and] soweth, he will not stick to say: "I sow for the immortal gods, whose pleasure was that I should not receive profits, [fruits, and emoluments at the hands] of my predecessors, but [respectively and conditionally] to leave, [surrender, and redeliver] the same, or as much, to my successors." The saying of Cæcilius ~~which went afore~~, touching old men, that laboured [and provided] for their [sequel and] succession, is far better than ~~this~~ following, which

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he also writeth: "Certes, although old age when it cometh had none other inconvenience nor grievance joined with it, yet this one is grief enough, because by living long a man seeth many things which he would not see." But ~~I say~~ and reply to it, that peradventure he seeth many things which he is right glad and willing to see. And it oftentimes happeneth that it is young men's lot to see such things as they are loth to see. } But this next saying of the same Cæcilius is as ill, or rather worse than the absurd sentence that went before. "I judge [and repute]" (saith he); "this in old age to be most miserable, because a man perceiveth himself in that age to be odious to them of younger years." But I say that age is rather pleasant than odious. For even as old-aged men, being wise and virtuous, take great pleasure and delight in company of toward [and godly-nurtured] young men, whereby their old age unto them seemeth the more facile and tolerable because they see themselves revered of youth; so likewise young men have great comfort [and contentation] in the wholesome lessons and pithy precepts, which they hear of old men, whereby their minds are [inflamed and stirred to follow virtue and embrace honesty.] And I do not see [the contrary, but] you for your parts take

that

VIII

Disage

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as much pleasure [and are as glad] of my company as I [am] of yours. Now you plainly see that old age is not only free from all [slothful drowsiness and] faint feebleness, but is rather [occupied and] busied [in laudable exercises,] doing ever something, devising [and excogitating] such matters as everyone in the [fresh years of his] former [lusty] age was most inured withal. **Yes,** they [increase and augment their knowledge, and] learn still [more and more,] as we [have] seen [by the noble law-maker] Solon, who greatly rejoiced, and in certain verses gloried, saying that he waxed every day an old man, **by** [increasing his knowledge and] learning daily somewhat [more than he knew before] as I myself also did, for I learned the Greek tongue when

- I was an old man. Which with such [earnest sedulity and inexplible] greediness I learned, ~~or rather snatched unto me (albeit in my youth I utterly contemned it),~~

- as though it had been a man much desiring to quench his long and dry thirst. And this I did to the intent I might [aspire and] attain to the understanding [and skill] of those things which you now see me to use for examples. And when I heard say that

x Socrates in his old days did the same in musical instruments, I was also desirous to have done the like (for in old time, men commonly learned to play on

Besides

p. 121

while

in fistulas, for the igne.

the lyre at least in literature
 instruments), but in humanity and learning I travelled
 diligently and took pains therein full studiously.]

And now I do no more desire to have the strength
 of a young man (for this was the second dispraise [and
 fault] that was laid against old age) than I did, when
 I was young, desire to have had the force and strength
 of a bull or an elephant. [For whatsoever is engrafted
 naturally in man, that is it fit and decent to use; and
 in all things that he taketh in hand to labour, and to
 do his diligent endeavour according to his strength.]

For what words can there be more contemptible,
 shameful, and abject than those of Milo Crotoniate,
 who, being old and seeing sundry champions and
 wrestlers exercising themselves and trying their force
 in the running-place or field of exercise, is reported
 that he beheld his own arms and said, weeping:
 "Alas, these [arms of mine that once were strong and
 muscular,] are now dead!" O thou [vain and] light-
 witted man, what a beast art thou to speak such
 foolish words; thy arms are not so much dead as thou
 art thyself. For thou *seekest* no [fame, renown, and]
 glory by thyself, but by [thy bodily strength and the
 high bigness of] thy arms and sides. Such [fond and
 unadvised] words never proceeded out of the mouth
 of Sextus Æmilius, nor Titus Coruncanus that was

*Quod est, et deest illi, et quid quid agi
 a quo pro viribus*

many years before, nor of Publius Crassus, ^{recently,} since their days ~~who were~~ men of great authority and wisdom, who also appointed and prescribed laws and orders for the Romans: whose prudence persevered and honorably continued till the very last hour [of death.]

But I am afraid lest an orator through [impotency and] debility of old age must be forced to [quail and] stay from the practice of his profession, because his office [and function] consisteth not only in wit and eloquence, but also in a loud [durableness, and strainable] voice, ~~with other circumstances belonging to utterance.~~ This [shrill and] audible [tenour of] speech ^{has} [and pronunciation] forsaketh not an old man, ~~no, not in the extremity of his age;~~ but, ~~as a~~ most beautiful grace (I know not how), doth accompany him to the end; ^{age} ~~which~~ I have ^{not} ~~neither~~ lost, ^{not} ~~neither~~ do I think myself to be destitute of, ^{et} and yet you both do see my ~~gray hairs and my ancienty~~ of years. Notwithstanding, a curteous and mild speech, and a gentle, quiet, or temperate utterance purchaseth the benevolent hearts of the multitude and much commendeth the party in whom they are incorporate; yea, a smooth and learned oration spoken by an eloquent old man, greatly delighteth the audience and maketh them attentive. And although a man

cannot do these things himself, yet may he instruct Scipio and Laelius, ~~and other toward young men.~~ For what thing is so pleasant as old age [guarded and] environed with [honest and] studious young men, [being prest, ready, and desirous to show and do their loyal obedience and dutiful reverence!] Shall we debar old age [from having authority and] power to teach, [inform, chastise and admonish] youth, to do their duties, and to train or frame them in virtuous dread and godly knowledge than which office, what can be more [excellent or] honourable? Verily, ~~we~~ thought that Caius and Publius Scipio, and thy two grandfathers, Lucius Æmilius and Publius Africanus, were happy [and fortunate by reason] of the daily company of young gentlemen. And they which are masters [and professors] of the liberal arts and sciences are to be [taken and] accopted no otherwise but [blessed and] fortunate; yea, although their strength ~~and firm lustiness of their bodies~~ be decayed [and imbeciled] ~~albeit~~, this same decay and failing of the natural strength doth oftener happen through the default of adolescence than of old age. For a libidinous and incontinent life, [lasciviously and inordinately] led in youth, ever bringeth [and delivereth] to old age a feeble, [weak, and impotent] body. ~~But~~ King Cyrus,

H

Corruption of the body

of whom Xenophon writeth, [among other his talk which he had,] lying on his death bed, being a very old man, sayeth, that he never felt [nor perceived] his old age any whit weaker [or feebler] than his adolescence [and youth] was. When I was a boy, I remember Lucius Metellus, who, ~~after he had been twice consul,~~ and four years after his second consulate, was [elected and] created [archprelate or] high-priest (which [prelacy and] priesthood he enjoyed twenty-two years), had in his old age such [corporal] strength, that he never seemed to desire [or care for] his adolescence. I need not here to speak anything of myself, although ~~(if I should)~~ it were but the property of us old men, and is [by the privilege and respect] of our age [to us] permitted. Do you not see how, oftentimes, Nestor doth [celebrate and] extol his own virtues, [blazing and] recording his own approved valiance, joined with prudence and policy, and blusheth not with his own mouth to make thereof a most honourable mention, as in Homer it is most manifestly to be seen. He lived three men's ages, and needed not to fear lest in displaying and sounding out of his own praises he should be thought either arrogant or vainly talkative. For as Homer writeth [and testifieth] of him, there issued [and

regret

X 1.

that speaking
the truth
himself

proceeded] out of his mouth] most eloquent speech and
 sugared] words, sweeter than honey, to the utterance
 [and declaration] of which [his pithy and] pleasant
 counsels he needed not any [robustious] force of bodily
 strength; and yet Agamemnon, prince of Græcia, ~~and~~
~~chief generally of all those warlike exploits,~~ never
 wished to have ten persons like to Ajax, but he ~~many~~
~~times~~ wished that he had ~~had~~ ten such as Nestor ~~was~~,
 saying, ~~furthermore~~, that if he had so many Nestors
 he would not doubt but that Troy should within a
 short space be utterly [ruinated and] destroyed. But
 now to return and say somewhat of myself. I am
 now going on my eighty-~~third~~ year, and would [to
 God] that I might make my vaunt, [and glory] in that
 for which Cyrus did [in manner triumph and] think
 himself happy: but yet this can I say, that although
 I have not such strength as I had when I was a
 soldier at the first wars between the Romans and the
 Carthaginians, or ~~as~~ I had when I was in the same
 wars in the office of Quæstor [or General-Receiver] or
~~as~~ I had when I was Consul in Spain, or ~~as~~ I had four
 years after when [I was deputed] Marshal of the
 Field, and fought [a battle wherein I discomfited the
 populous army of proud Antiochus, and others of our
 stiff-necked enemies that had encamped themselves in

at
new Acilius
later
 bastiles and garrisons upon the top of the great mountains and straits called Thermopylæ, Marcus Attilius and Caius Labeo being at that time consuls: yet all these hazards and dangerous conflicts notwithstanding, old age hath not throughly afflicted, neither altogether debilitated and exhausted me. For neither the Senate, neither the Forum and the Judgment Hall, neither my friends and clients, neither my guests and strangers (whom by the law of hospitality I am bound and ought to defend) do find themselves destitute of my help, neither do espy any default or lack of strength to be in me. And I never condescended nor agreed to this old approved proverb, of most men praised and commended, which willet that whosoever desireth to be an old man long, should begin to be an old man betime and quickly; as who would say that he should now in his flourishing and fresh age desist from travail and labour wherein youth delighteth, and altogether to provide for ease and conservation of his health. ~~But~~ I had liefer not to be an old man long, than to be an old man before I were old indeed. And therefore there was never man yet to this day that can say that he ever came to speak with me, ~~but~~ he found me occupied ~~and doing somewhat~~. But I do confess

and
to attend to him
Itaque nemo autem potest me. etc.
in officio. etc.

that I have not so much bodily strength as either of you twain hath again, neither of you hath the strength of Titus Pontius, the centurion. What then? is he therefore nobler and better than you are? Let there be a moderation in strength, and let every man attempt and assay so much as he is well able to compass, and he that doth this shall feel no great want of strength, nor be aggrieved for the lack thereof. [In the famous games of Olympia] it is said that [the strong champion Milo came in carrying on his shoulders a huge and big-bodied bull alive, and bare him a furlong off: now, if thou wert put to thy choice,] whether haddest thou liefer have the bodily strength of this Milo, or else the quickness of wit and the inward virtues of mind [which the noble philosopher] Pythagoras had? In fine, use and take well in worth this gift of bodily strength while thou hast it, and when it is gone do not desire nor seek to have it again, unless peradventure you will say that all young men ought to wish themselves in their infancy and swathing-bands again, or when they be somewhat further stricken in years and in the maturity or best time of their age, to wish themselves again in their adolescence.] The race and course of age is certain; and there is but one way of nature and the same

or else wouldst thou regard their higher
 & other men their
 requirements, to wish for

simple; and to every part of [a man's] life [and age] are given his convenient times and proper tempestivities. For even as weakness [and infirmity is] incident to young children, & lustiness and bravery ~~to~~ young men, and & gravity when they come ~~to~~ ripe years; [so, likewise,] the maturity [or ripeness] of old age have a certain special gift given [and attributed to it] by nature, which ought [not to be neglected, but] to be taken in his own time and season when it cometh.]

I think, Scipio, that you hear [by report] what your host, the most faithful confederate to the Roman people, [Masinissa, King of Mauritania] doth nowadays, being ninety years old. For when he taketh any [voyage or] journey, going at the first on foot, he will not for that journey ride nor come on horseback: and [contrarywise,] when he rideth forth on horseback, he never useth to alight off from his horse: no tempestuous weather, no storms, nor cold, can make him to cover his head, [but ever goeth barehead.] His body is ~~so~~ dry, [that he is never molested with any such corrupt humours as old men commonly are infected and encumbered withal;] and therefore doth he, in his own person execute all the offices and functions that to a royal and noble king do appertain. Therefore exercise, moderate diet, and continency are able to

conserve somewhat of a man's lustiness and former strength, yea, and that in old age. { There is (some say) no strength in old age: I answer that strength is not required of old age. Therefore, by the [laudable] laws and wholesome ordinances, [which our predecessors have for civil order and public utility enacted, our age is dispensed [withal, exempted and discharged] from all such affairs as cannot be without [bodily] strength sustained [and accomplished.] Wheroby we are not compelled to do that which we are unable to perform; yea, we are [borne withal, and] not required to do so much as we can do.

But [you will again object and say,] many old men are so [weak and] feeble that they are not able to [execute and] discharge any office or function that belongeth to man's life and serveth for maintenance of virtue in human society.] But truly the cause thereof is not properly to be imputed to the old age, but commonly to lack of health. What a weak [and impotent] man was the son of Publius Africanus, even he that made thee his son by adoption! Was not he so often assaulted and attained with discrasies and sickness, that he was in a manner never healthful? [Which if it] had otherwise [happened, undoubtedly] he would have proved the second ~~mirror~~ and the most

precious jewel or ornament] of our city, [next unto his noble father.] For to ~~counter~~vail the haute courage and incomparable prowess of his said father, he was furnished with greater learning [and more abundant gifts of the mind.] What marvel is it therefore in old men if now and then they be sick [and diseased] sith young men [also are subject to the same, and] cannot warrant themselves of health [no more than old men can]. We must (dear friends, Laelius and Scipio) resist old age, and the inconveniences [and faults] thereof must by diligence be [recompensed and] amended. And even as we [must arm ourselves to fight against] infirmities and [sickness, so] [also] must we [strive against] old age.

We must have a good eye [and a diligent respect] to our health; and we must use moderate exercise [of the body. We must not be too ingluvius in taking our food and repast; we must not pamper and gourmandize ourselves with excess of] meat and drink but so much [and such competency thereof] must be taken as sufficeth to refresh the vital powers [and natural strength] and not to impair, [hebetate, and utterly to extinguish] them. And we must not [have regard to] help the body only, but much more [to maintain and conserve] the [memory and] reasonable part of man,

mente atque animo

which is the mind. For these are [utterly defaced,
extinct, [and suffocated through too much glutting
fare and ravenous ingurgitation. And even as a lamp
if too much oil be infused into it burneth not
brightly, but yieldeth a very dim and darkish light;
again, if it lack oil it lacketh also light; so likewise
the mind is alike dulled and blunted when the body
is either overcharged with superabundance and surfeit,
or else restrained from the sufficiency that nature
requireth.]

[In old age natural strength, either by defatiga-
tion or else] by overmuch [and vehement] exercise,
[droopeth, and] waxeth lumpish [and unwieldly];
[but the promptitude or readiness of the wit and
mind is [by being exercised, augmented, whetted
and] sharpened. For those old men whom the
comical poet Caecilius calleth foolish, he meaneth to
be such as are credulous [and light of belief, forgetful,
remiss, dissolute, and negligent] about their business,
which are not the proper vices [and peculiar faults] of
old age itself, but of such an old age as is slothful,
sluggish, drowsy, [and given more to sleep and belly
cheer than to any good and laudable exercise.] And
as petulancy, [malapertness,] and libidinous volupty be
vices sooner to be found in young men than in old

The body

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5-9*

since

*by old age, if you do not give in oil into
a lamp - then have grease, and lamp
burns oil in bottles, as stringer in sense*

men (and yet all young men are not surprised nor snared with those beastly baits, but only such as are of naughty disposition [and unthrifty natures], so this foolishness [that entangleth and captivateth the senses] of old men (which is commonly called dotage) is not in all old men, but in those only which are light-witted, [and keep not themselves within the limits of reason.]

Appius [being, beside his extreme] old age, also blind, ruled and kept in awe his four tall sons, five daughters, his family and household (~~which was great~~), and ~~extended the patronage of his suppliant~~ clients. For he had his mind bent like a bow, and never shrunk for his years, neither suffered he old age to have the victory over him. He reserved and kept his authority over all them that were under his charge, [and his family was ready at his beck and commandment:] his servants feared him, his children honoured and revered him, and all men entirely loved him. In his household the customs of his noble pedigree and ancestors, (and the discipline of his country, took place effectually.

For herein is old age [honest and] honourable, in defending and maintaining itself, [in retaining and keeping his authority,] in saving itself free from

great /
excess of

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[bondage and] servitude, and in exercising [rule and] authority over them that are under his charge, even until the last hour [of death]. And as we do commend a young man in whom appeareth [any gravity and ripeness of wit] which to elder age seemeth more incident, so likewise do we praise that old man which hath some of the qualities [and properties] of a young man [of honest and sober demeanour] which thing whosoever [marketh and] followeth may be old in body, but he shall never be old in mind.

I have now in hand the seventh book of the originals [and first foundations of all the cities in Italy.] I do collect [and gather into one volume] all the notable monuments of antiquity, and now presently I am about the finishing of another book, wherein shall be contained the orations of all such famous causes as I have in my time defended. I am a serious student and practiser of the augurs' law, the canon and the civil law. I give myself much to the Greek tongue; and to exercise my memory withal, I do as Pythagoras' scholars were wont to do, for whatsoever I have heard, spoken, or done the day before, I call to remembrance [and debate the same with myself] in the evening.

X
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 heathen one.

*Et enim adolescentia, in quo sermo alij
 sic sermo, in quo est adolescentia aliquid*

These are the exercises of ~~the~~ ^{the} wit, these are
 the feats wherein the mind is occupied, and these
 are the agitations whereby it is stirred to virtuous
 operations.] [I, giving myself to these trades, and
 therein labouring incessantly, do not greatly lack,
 neither think myself destitute of] bodily strength.
 [When my friends stand in need of my aid and help,
 I am prest and ready to stand them in stead.] [I use
 many times] to] come into the Senate, and unasked
 I allege and bring many reasons which, with long study,
 I have before premeditated, and the same do I] main-
 tain, uphold, defend, and support,] not by strength of
 body, but of mind. *Yes*, although I were not able [in
 proper person] to] execute and] put things in practice, yet
 should I, lying in my bed, take [great] pleasure and
 delight, by thinking and considering how to devise and
 compass things which I could not do. But the life
 which heretofore I have led, hath been and is] such, that
 I am able ~~and can~~ do them. For unto him that
 spendeth his time in such labours and studies, old age
 is not perceived when and how] it stealeth upon him.
 Thus age waxeth old, and by little and little declin-
 eth, as it were, insensibly; and it is not suddenly
 amputated, or cut off, but by long continuance and
 diuturnity is like a lamp, quenched and extinguished.

These are the exercises of the wit; these are the feats wherein the mind is occupied, and these are the agitations whereby it is stirred to virtuous operations.
I, giving myself to these trades, and therein labouring incessantly, do not greatly lack, neither think myself destitute of bodily strength.
When my friends stand in need of my aid and help, I am prest and ready to stand them in stead.
I use many times to come into the Senate, and unasked I allege and bring many reasons which, with long study, I have before premeditated, and the same do I maintain, uphold, defend, and support, not by strength of body, but of mind.
Yes, although I were not able in proper person to execute and put things in practice, yet should I, lying in my bed, take great pleasure and delight, by thinking and considering how to devise and compass things which I could not do.
But the life which heretofore I have led, hath been and is such, that I am able and can do them.
For unto him that spendeth his time in such labours and studies, old age is not perceived when and how it stealeth upon him.
Thus age waxeth old, and by little and little declineth, as it were, insensibly; and it is not suddenly amputated, or cut off, but by long continuance and diuturnity is like a lamp, quenched and extinguished.

Now followeth the third dispraise [and fault] which is laid in old age, because (say they) it is without pleasure, ~~and must forego voluptuous appetites.~~ O noble and excellent gift, wherewith old age is so blessed, if it take from us that thing, which is in youth most vicious [and detestable.] But you (noble and virtuous gentlemen, Scipio and Laelius) hear what Archytas, the famous philosopher of Tarentum, was wont to say, whose oration [touching the same matter] was lent and delivered to me, when I was a young man [and served] under Quintus Maximus at [the siege of] Tarentum. He said that "no plague was given by nature so great and [pernicious unto men, as the [bestial pleasures and voluptuousness of the body: which pleasures the dissolute and libidinous lusts of men do so much affect and] desire, that with all licentious profanation and outrage, their minds be [incited and] stirred to pursue the same, thinking all things lawful for their unbridled appetites, so that they may enjoy their beastly desires, and still wallow in the filthy puddle of their hellish sensuality. Hence (said he) as from a fountain do spring out all kinds of mischief, as treason, [betraying of countries,] the ruin and subversion of commonwealths, secret conventicles, and privy conferences with the enemies; finally (he said), there was none so

X 11 .

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 Tarentum

larger part

Magnus in Tarentum est fons vitæ

x

Plato
 great a villainy, nor any so flagitious and horrible an enormity, which the inordinate desire of pleasure would not egg and prick forward men's froward wills to enterprise: furthermore, that whoredom, adultery, and all suchlike heinous facts of carnal concupiscency were by none other lures or enticements provoked but by pleasure. And whereas either nature or God hath given unto man nothing of so noble excellency as the mind or reasonable soul, there is nothing so great an enemy unto this inestimable and divine gift as pleasure.

For where pleasure beareth sway and ruleth the roast, there is no mansion nor dwelling place left for temperance and sobriety, and to be short, virtue cannot remain where pleasure reigneth. Which thing, that it might the better be understood and more evidently be perceived, he bad, that a man should imagine and in his mind presuppose some man to be captivated, overwhelmed, and altogether plunged in as much of this beastly pleasure as he could conceive; which being done, he thought there would be no man whose senses were so much bound up in the veil of ignorance, but he would easily judge that such a man, so long as his mind was thus passionated with such brutish and filthy affections, could not contain or

compass any honest action, nor rule himself by reason and honesty.]

And, therefore, there is nothing so pestilent, ^{detestable.} [so execrable] and hurtful as pleasure. For if it should enter into man's heart and there long bear domination, it would [quite mar, deface, and] extinguish all the light of the mind, [which is reason and understanding.] Nearchus, in whose house I lodged in Tarentum, who ~~also~~ showed himself very friendly to the Roman people, said that he had heard his [ancestors and] elders report, that Archytas spake all these words, ^{to Pagan} when the Roman consuls, Publius Postumius and Titus Veturius, were [discomfited and] overthrown ^{the case} by the Samnites, ^{fallen} who had environed and entrapped them ^{by the} like fishes in a net or bucks in a buck-stall, in the perilous straits and difficult entries of Caudium, Gains Pontius, the valiant Samnite, and his father being then the conductors and captains-general of the Samnites' army. Plato also, the noble Athenian philosopher, was present and heard him speak these words, whom I ~~do in old histories find, that he came~~ [and arrived] at Tarentum, when Lucius Æmilius and Appius Claudius were consuls.

But to what purpose do all these circumstances tend? Truly that you may understand, if we

cannot be persuaded by reason and wisdom, to abandon our wantonness [and mortify our pleasures, yet] that we are much [bounden and] beholding to old age, by whose means we are so temperately disposed, that we have no lust to do anything which is [undecent or] uncomely to be done. For pleasure, being a [deadly and mortal] enemy to reason, hindereth virtuous action and prudent consultation, and the eyes of the mind thereby are so juggled and bewitched, that it can have no fellowship [or company] with virtue. X

Sore against my will was it, when I deposed and degraded Lucius Flaminius (brother to the worthy and hardy gentleman, Titus Flaminius) of his senatorship, seven years after he had been consul; but yet I well considered [and with myself weighed], that it was expedient and needful [that his] lawless and [vicious deed] should not escape due punishment, because impunity many times doth animate men of semblable disposition another time to be the bolder to attempt further mischief by giving the bridle to their own licentious will and sensual affections. For when he was appointed consul in Lombardy, he was at the city of Piacence requested by a curtisan or common harlot [at a banquet, to cause some one of his captives (whom he had taken and kept in prison and adjudged to die)

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to be presently in her sight beheaded, ~~because the bloody strumpet (as she said) had never seen any executed~~; unto whose ^{desire and} request he relented, ~~and forthwith commanded~~ one of them to be put to death. And, during the time that his brother Titus was censor (~~which dignity he enjoyed next before me~~), he escaped, ~~and was never therefore punished~~. But when I and Flaccus ~~were made censors~~, we could not brook such enormity, nor wink at such a self-willed example, because he abused and blemished the honour of our noble empire with his private lewdness and shameful sensuality!

I have oftentimes heard our elders say (which they also, as they reported, had heard of their fathers [and old predecessors] when they were boys), that Caius Fabricius was wont much to marvel because, on a time when he was sent on an ambassade to Pyrrhus, King of the Epirotes, he heard one Cineas (who was born in Thessalia, and was the king's schoolmaster) [report and] tell how that there was a certain man of Athens, which professed himself to be a wise man, and say that all our actions, thoughts, and deeds, whatsoever they were, ought to be referred only to pleasure, as to the principal end, reposing therein our chiefest felicity. Marcus Curius and Titus

*considerable.**punishment**from.*

XVII.

*of Thessal.**the same**man. . .*

Coruncanius, hearing this ~~abominable assertion and~~
~~devilish opinion,~~ [which Fabricius told] oftentimes
 wished that the Samnites and Pyrrhus himself were
 resolved and persuaded to believe [and credit] the words *ll. i*
 of that ~~profane hellhound~~; because if they would [en-
 thrall and] addict themselves to [disport, dalliance, vanity,
 and] pleasure, they might the sooner be conquered, ~~and~~
~~their proud stomachs appalled.~~ ~~This Marcus Curius~~ *ll. c*
 lived with Publius Decius, ~~even~~ he that in his fourth
 consulship, five years before the consulate of Curius,
 voluntarily gave himself to death for ~~the safeguard and~~
~~preservation~~ of his country. Fabricius knew him, and
 so did Coruncanius ~~also~~, who as well by their own life,
 as by this worthy fact of Decius, of whom I now spake,
 judged and thought that there was something naturally *ll. i*
 good, fair, excellent, and for itself only expetible,
 which every good and virtuous man should and ought
 to love, honour, and embrace, abandoning and vili-
 pending all sensual pleasure and loose dishonesty.
 But to what purpose do we speak so much of pleasure?
 Verily, to the intent that hereby it may be seen [and
 proved] how that it cannot ~~only not~~ be objected to old
 age for any vituperation and dispraise, but rather for
 a singular praise and commendation; ~~because old age~~ *ll. c*
 doth not [esteem nor] care for these pleasures. But

because something in excess is had, no not
reason for this thing, in itself to be had

OF OLD AGE XIII. 113

[some other will say]: It lacketh sumptuous fare, costly dishes, delicate viands, and drinks of all sorts. ~~Hereto~~ ~~Answer~~ that, therefore, it lacketh also drunkenness, crudity, or indigestion, fantastical dreams, and ridiculous apparitions. But if we must any whit yield to pleasure because we cannot easily resist the blandishments [and allurements] thereof (~~for the divine philosopher~~ Plato calleth pleasure the bait of all mischief, because men therewith are caught [and snared even] as fishes are with the hook), ~~say~~ that although old age be not [endangered nor] given to [superfluous and] immoderate banqueting, and at ~~unseasonable~~ hours, yet in temperate and moderate feasting it may be [solaced and comfortably] recreated.

I myself, when I was a boy, have oftentimes seen Caius Duillius, the son of Marcus (the same that first vanquished the Carthaginians in ~~terrible~~ fight on the sea), return home, being an old man, from the place where he had supped: he would ~~many~~ ~~times~~ have a link or a torch, carried before him, and a minstrel also playing on a shalm, which no private person before him ever did: his [warlike exploits and triumphant] victories should (~~as he thought~~) be to him for this licentious liberty and ~~new~~ begun custom, a sufficient warrantise. But to what end do

"... in malisum tempore ..."

men (and yet all young men) are not surprised nor snared with those beastly baits, but only such as are of naughty disposition [and unthrifty natures], so this foolishness [that entangleth and captivateth the senses] of old men (which is commonly called dotage) is not in all old men, but in those only which are light-witted, and keep not themselves within the limits of reason.

Appius being, beside his extreme old age, also blind, ruled and kept in awe his four tall sons, five daughters, his family and household (which was great), and ~~extended the patronage of his suppliant clients.~~ For he had his mind bent like a bow, and never shrunk for his years, neither suffered he old age to have the victory over him. He reserved and kept his authority over all them that were under his charge, and his family was ready at his beck and commandment: his servants feared him, his children honoured and revered him, and all men entirely loved him. In his household the customs of his noble pedigree and ancestors, and the discipline of his country, took place effectually.

For herein is old age [honest and] honourable, in defending and maintaining itself, [in retaining and keeping his authority,] in saving itself free from

with another, and therein they termed it much better than the Greeks do, for the name which they give it signifieth ~~as much as~~ a 'comotation,' as though friends meet together [purposely] to [quaff and] drink: and a 'concentration' or a 'comessation,' as though they assembled for [the cheer or] the meat's sake: wherein they seem to allow and commend that most, which is the least part of the goodness that therein is to be taken.

But I am delighted in [feasts and] banquets being made in seasonable [and convenient] times, for the [solace and] pleasure which I take in learned conference ~~and colloquies of wisdom~~, and that not only with [my equals and] them that are of the same age that I am (whereof the number is now very [few and] small), but also with you twain, and other young gentlemen ~~of fresher years~~. And I heartily thank old age for ~~this boon and good turn~~, because it hath increased in me an earnest desire of talk, ~~and debating of serious matters with men of approved learning and gravity~~, but the greedy desire of meat and drink it hath taken away from me: notwithstanding if any old man be delighted in these blandiments of pleasure (I mean good cheer and dainty fare), least I should seem to stand at open defiance and denounce war to all

"hucul. rorantion" i.e. which yielded the
wine drops by drops.

pleasure, whereof, peradventure, there is from natural
cause [mean and] reason, I cannot see how old age
[either lacketh or] is destitute of sense [and feeling, no,
not] in these kinds of pleasures, which serve for the
~~palate and tooth, which we before declared.~~

x The superiority, which the chief ruler of the feast
hath above others, by an order which our ancestors in-
stituted, doth [greatly content and] please my mind: and
the merry, pleasant questions or cases, which he, by an
old, laudable custom, proponeth to the company to be
disputed upon and reasoned at the table, and the cup
of drink not obtrusively swilled but moderately tasted
being also so clean rinsed and washed, that the clear
drops of pure water stand and cleave to the sides, as
it were the sweet drops of wholesome dew, much like
to the comotation and feast whereof Xenophon
writeth: and a place to cool our weary members in
the heat of summer, and in the sturdy and nipping
cold of winter either the warm sun, or else a good fire,
[is unto me a singular contentation.] These [orders and
diets] am I wont to observe, [when I sojourn] in my
manors and house of Sabinum, and every day I see
my table furnished with the appointed number of my
neighbours near adjoining, and with talking of divers
matters we prolong [and continue] our supper sometimes

As in the
cool

17. 1. 1.

It is very good to have some...
...is beautiful...
...et minuta
...of here

^{And} till it be far in the night, ^{And hee} every man laying in for himself such reasons and arguments as he hath for the corroboration and confirmation of his cause and assertion. ^{to be short}

But there is not in old men ~~so great a desire of carnality, nor such tickling concupiscence of venerie.~~ I believe it well; and it is ~~not only free from the assaults and pricking lust thereof,~~ but also from any desire [or delight at all] thereunto. For nothing is grievous [or heavily] taken of a man, if he neither care nor] desire the same. Sophocles, being an aged man, was asked of one whether he gave himself to any venerous dalliance and coiture: ~~unto whom he answered and said: God forbid that I in this age should give myself to such wanton lusts,~~ for I have willingly renounced and fled away from that [kind of lasciviousness] as from a [thing which I know to be like to a lordly and imperious] master, [both beastly] savage, and furious." But to them that are desirous thereof, it is a great grief to lack and be without it; but to them which have satisfied their natural lusts, ~~whose age fit for such wantonness is already expired,~~ it is more pleasure to lack than to use it. Albeit, he that forceth not for it, cannot be said to lack it; therefore, not to care for it (I say) is more pleasure than to have full

And hee

fruition and satiety of it. *bona aetas* Now whereas adolescence delighteth more in these pleasures, *the first place* the cause is because *I have said* it is more willing and proclive to follow the things *secondly if* which are of small moment and importance, *see to this* as it is of itself rash and wavering; but afterward such things as old age is delighted and given to, the which, although it do not fully enjoy, yet doth it not altogether lack.

Even as he that sitteth on the chiefest bench in a theatre [or lists] where plays [and interludes] are exhibited, is more delighted to see [the excellent gesture of] Ambivivus Turpio, [and his incomparable dexterity in the express imitation and gesture of any person,] yet he that standeth afar off, [looking over other men's shoulders] hath some delectation [as well as the others.] so likewise youth [and adolescence,] being by reason of their fresh age, more prone to pleasures than old age is, *delighted* having and daily seeing the allurements thereof more near to them, is perhaps more frolic; but old age, seeing them [aloof and] afar off, is therein delighted as much as is requisite [and expedient.] But what a singular commodity is this, that the mind, like an old worn soldier, is [by the means of old age] ransomed and exempted from the ugly servitude [and thralldom] of sensuality, voluptuousness, ambition, strife, contention, quarrelling, enmity, and finally, from all leathsome

to be

x *the. 2000000*
 and filthy affections, and instead thereof to embrace
 mediocrity and moderation, and to be contented and
 to live (as the old saying is) with himself! But if it
 be furnished with study and learning (which are, ~~so it~~
 were, the nutriment and sustentation of old age), truly
 nothing is more pleasant than ~~it is~~, being dismissed
 from all troublesome intermeddling with public affairs
 and wholly addict to quiet contemplation.

We saw Caius Gallus (the famous astronomer and
 great friend to thy father, Φ Scipio), so intently *old and*
 addicted to his dimensions as well of heaven as of
 earth, that he seemed to have none other delight,
 neither to have any respect at all for any other worldly
 business. How many nights did he bestow upon study
 of that faculty, and never slept! How often hath the
 next-morrow appeared ere he had left his lucubra-
 tions, which he had begun over-night! How often
 did night come upon him, when he had incessantly
 laboured in his calculations astronomical all day before,
 without meat or drink! What a singular pleasure
 was it to him, long beforehand, to prognosticate and
 foreshow the eclipses both of the sun and moon! What
 painful labours sustained he in the study of other
 matters not of so great [moment and] importance as
 these other, but yet very subtle, quick, and witty!

See further on the same subject
See further on the same subject

How greatly rejoiced Nævius in his ~~comedy, which he~~
~~entitled the Punic War!~~ How did Plautus, in his
~~comedy called Truculentus, in manner leap and triumph~~
~~for joy!~~ with what gladness ~~was he surprised withal,~~
~~when he had written another comedy named Pseudolus!~~

in his time
(indivisible)
Conte
 I saw ^{etc.} Livius, who, having set forth ^{etc.} an interlude ^{etc.} seven ^{etc.} years ^{etc.} before I was born, when ~~Gæthegus~~ and Tuditanus
 were consuls, lived and flourished till I was a big
 stripling. What should I speak of the worthy and
 expert lawyer, Publius Licinius Crassus, and of his
 wonderful knowledge, both in the canon and in the
 civil law! or of ~~the industrious contemplation and~~
~~diligence of this our~~ Publius Scipio, who was of late
 created high priest! And all these whom I have here
 named, we have seen, being old men, to give them-
 selves to study.)

exactly
when needed
 (But as for Marcus Cethegus, whom Ennius doth
 very properly call the very pith and marrow of
 Suada, ~~the goddess of eloquence and pleasant speech;~~
 how studiously did we see him bent to the art of
 rhetoric and oratory in his old age! What pleasures
 either of banqueting, of plays, or of brothels and
 courtesans are comparable to these virtuous and laud-
 able pleasures? These are the studies of doctrine and
 learning, which, in men of wisdom and good inclination,

the spirit of promotion

do [grow and] increase, even [as they themselves do] in old age, according to that golden saying of Solon, who, in a [brief posy or] sentence, said (as ~~we~~ before ~~have showed~~) that he waxed ~~every day~~ old, ~~by~~ learning daily some knowledge [whereof he was before ignorant,] than which pleasure of mind there can none be greater, [none more virtuous, none more commendable.]

I will now speak of the [goodly] pleasures which husbandmen have, wherein I myself have great delight, which are not hindered by old age, and in my opinion, their life is most like to a [blessed and] happy man's life. For their traffic [and trade of] merchandis is with the earth, which never refuseth [to be under their rule and] subjection, [never is so disobedient nor obstinate, but obedient and serviceable,] and repayeth with [great increase of] usury [as who would say for the use and loan of their seeds and toil] that which it received, but at sometime it doth not render so much as it doth at another time, albeit, for the most part, [it requiteth their travails with a great] surplusage and access of] gain. But [yet] I do not only take pleasure in the fruits [and grain] which it yieldeth, but also in the strength, nature, [and power] of the earth itself, which, receiving the seed in her lap, [and being by tillage and good husbandry] plowed, mollified, [and well manured,] doth for

*et mihi ad sapientiam vitam fructibus
et bonis acceptis.*

a time[at the first] keep[and nourish] it, [being] covered
 [within it] by harrowing, which is therefore called
 'occatio'; then doth it make it to appear and peep out
 of the ground through the warmth which it receiveth
 by the vaporous humidity and amicable heat, [and] so
 [cherisheth it,] that [in time] it bringeth forth a green
 stalk like[at the first to] grass [or herbs] the which, being
 strengthened by [the small shoots and strings that grow
 out of] the root, doth by little and little grow up to [a
 big stem, and standing upright upon] a knotty ~~straw~~ st
 full of joints (when it now waxeth and) draweth near ^{dr}
 to ripeness, is included in Pods or husks:—out of the ^{a s}
 which, [as out of a sheath or hose] there cometh forth
 corn [or grain, which lay in the ear fenced, fortified,
 and] armed against the pecking [and eating] of
 small birds with a rampier [or wall] of the [awns or
 beards.—What should I] recite and [declare the planting
 and pruning of vines, the increasing [and profits] of
 them? I cannot sufficiently tell you what incredible
 [joy and] pleasure I take therein, [how my mind is set
 therein] and this I say [to the intent] that you may
 thoroughly understand the quietness and recreation
 of mine old age. I omit to speak of the virtues of ^u
 all such things as the earth bringeth forth; how of ^{fr}
 one small kernel of a fig, or one little [corn or] grain of ^{fr}

mark

10
 welcome
 x
 near of

10
 12

I am glad to see this, and the structure...
 and the structure...
 and the structure...

a grape, and ^{finally} of other little seeds of ~~all~~ other
 fruits, grains, and ~~young shoots~~, it ^{bringeth forth and} ~~bringeth forth and~~ ^{from roots}
~~procreateth~~ such great boles and mighty bodies, ^{branches} ~~and~~
 in fruits or herbs such high stems.] The small twigs
 that be cut off from the vines to be planted elsewhere,
 the young imps and grifts, ~~the superfluous branches~~
~~that are pruned~~, the plantable vines, ^{Shortling} ~~the vaulted and~~
 arched arbors that are made for pleasant walks, whereon
 the vines may renew and spread abroad and refresh
 men with their cool umbrage, the cutting down of old
 vines, that young slips may thereon be set, ^{would not}
~~all~~ these allure a man to love and ^{have them in ad-}
 miration? The vine is naturally stooping and ^{falling}
 downward, and if it be not ~~with shores and forks~~
~~underpropped~~, it groweth toward the ground; but
 the same, by ^{the help and furtherance of} ^{his tendrils,}
 which are to it in stead and lieu of hands, raiseth up
 itself, catcheth, ^{and lappeth itself fast,} ^{to whatsoever it}
 cometh near, the which, ~~in continuance of time~~ ^{wandering}
 and ^{roving at random uncontrolled,} ~~and entangling~~
~~itself with many other parts~~, at length ^{the vigilant care}
 and diligent hand ^{of the husbandman doth} ^{by pruning}
 restrain, and with his vine-hooks so cutteth and keepeth
 under, that it cannot grow too luxuriously nor wildly,
^{neither be overgrown with superfluous branches, and}

spread out too far on every side with bushy ruggedness.] And, therefore, in the beginning of the spring-time, there cometh out a young bourgeon or bud in those twigs that remained after the pruning, which ~~do~~, as it were, grow, out at the very joints where those superfluous branches were [lopped and] cut off; out of which burgeons the cluster doth [proceed and] appear, which [taking increase and] growing in bigness, ~~what~~ with the [humidity and] juice of the earth, and ~~what~~ with the warmth [and heat] of the sun, is ~~for a while~~ at the first sour [and bitter] in taste, but when it is ripe [and mature], it is both sweet [and toothsome] and being covered [and clad] with leaves, ~~it receiveth thereby such comfort and help,~~ that it neither lacketh [expedient and] needful heat, and also defendeth itself from the parching [and ardent] beams of the sun. Now, what can be either ~~for profit~~ more pleasant, or for the [sight and] delighting of the eye more [gorgeous and] beautiful, than ~~these afore-named pleasures?~~ Whose profitable use, [and gainful possession,] doth not only (as I said before) [marvellously content and] please me, but also the [manuring, the digging, and the proper] nurture thereof, ~~is unto me~~ pleasure incredible. The order of the [stays or shores, whereby the vines are underpropped, the tying [and plaiting] of them together whereby men

(the vines)

quæ gemina decolor...

Quæ quæ potest esse hinc fructus. Sicut

indisputabiliter hinc dicitur

have a pleasant and shady gallery to walk in, the binding of them down, ~~their increase and spreading abroad,~~ the pruning of the superfluous branches, and the ~~new grafting of others in their places~~ (which I spoke of), ~~replenish my heart with joy unspeakable.~~ To what purpose should I here rehearse the [watering and] irrigation of the plants, the trenches and delving of the ground, the repastination or new digging about the roots, whereby the ground is made much more fertile [and rank]? whereto should I speak of the profit that cometh by dunging the ground? whereof I have ~~at~~ ~~large~~ spoken in my book entitled *Of Husbandry*: albeit the [ancient and] learned [poet] Hesiod speaketh never a word thereof, in his work of *Tillage and Rustical Affairs*. But Homer, who (as far as I can gather) was long before Hesiod, introduceth and bringeth in old Laertes ~~was long and languishing~~ for the absence of his son Ulysses ~~after the manner of a~~ husbandman, tilling and dunging his ground. And ~~the trade of~~ husbandry is not only pleasant [and plentiful, enriched and] stored with corn, grain, meadows, vineyards, ~~hopyards,~~ groves, and ~~other places where trees grow:~~ but also with orchards, gardens, feeding of cattle, swarms of bees, and variety of all kind of ~~sweet~~ flowers. And not only the

free ground

*De rebus
rusticis
de cultura
x agri
republice
sordiditate
sordiditate
res rustica*

ut mihi videtur

^{out}
~~orderly~~ setting ^{and standing} of the trees ^{and plants}
 delight ~~and please the eye of the beholder~~, but also
~~the incisions and grafting of young slips in another~~
~~tree; which points and facts are as witty and subtle,~~
~~as any are in husbandry.~~ | Many oblectaments of
 husbandmen could I declare, but I well perceive that
 in ~~these few commodities~~ which I have already told,
 I have been too prolix ^{and tedious}. But you shall
 of your courtesy bear with my fervent zeal, and
 pardon my earnest prosecution of my reasons and arguments
 therein. For the great goodwill and love which
 I have, ^{and still do bear,} to husbandry, hath enforced
 me to speak ^{and wade} further ^{in it,} than ^{at the}
 first I purposed; and ~~also~~, old age is ~~reported to be~~
 by nature ^{talkative and} given to loquacity ^{(because I}
 will not seem to avouch ^{and say} that it is ^{clear and}
 free from all ^{manner of vices and} faults). ~~And,~~
~~therefore, the valiant and invincible duke, Manius~~
~~Curius, when he achieved many notable exploits and~~
~~glorious victories against the rebellious foes and capital~~
~~enemies of the Roman people, and had showed him-~~
~~self a mirror of prowess and knightly fortitude in~~
~~sundry hazards, after he had triumphed over the~~
~~Samnites and Sabines, and had subdued the courageous~~
~~and mighty Pyrrhus, king of Epirotas, and subjugated~~

"Oblectamenta, delight, recreation"

all his territories, seignories, and dominions by dint of sword and stroke of battle, unto the Roman nation, lived in his old age in this kind of life: whose poor mansion as often as I do behold (~~for it adjoineth near unto my farms~~) I cannot but greatly marvel [and be astonished] either to see the continency of this noble man, or else the condition and discipline that was in those days. And when the Samnites ~~after their discomfiture~~ came to this Curius, offering him [great foison and] sums of gold, ~~they found him in his own house, sitting by the fire and seething rape-roots in an earthen pot or pipkin, who constantly refused all their offers and rewards,~~ telling them [in flat words] that he thought it not so great [honour and] glory to possess gold, as to bear rule [and to be lord] over them which had gold. How could this noble [and valiant] heart ~~otherwise choose~~ but lead an old age most pleasant? But I will take hold where I left, and speak of husbandmen as I did before, because I take myself as one of their order and fellowship.

Senators, that is to say, [sage and] old [grey-headed] councillors, were in those days husbandmen; ~~for as~~ Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus was holding the plough [and earnestly toiling in his tillage in the field] news was brought to him that he was elected Dictator:

K

See also in the next page, the story of the Dictator

~~upon the hearing whereof he straightways left his plough and came to Rome, and was installed in the same office of Dictator or High Maister of the people, executing the same with all singleness and sincerity; by whose commandment his vice-regent or lieutenant, Caius Servilius Ahala, Captain of the Horsemen, slew Spurius Maelius, a miserable and ambitious man, traitorously aspiring to be king. Out of their farms and country-houses, Curius and many other old men were chosen into the honourable society and orders of Senators, whereupon the officers, or pursevaunts, which summoned and called them to the Senate were named Curours Posts, or special messengers.] Was therefore the old age of these men miserable, which refreshed and solaced themselves in tillage and husbandry? Certes, in mine opinion, I judge that there can be no life more blessed and fortunate than this is, and not only for the honest exercise and needful commodity which thereby to all mankind redoundeth (for if tillage were neglected all the sort of us would bewail the lack and feel the smart thereof), but also because of the delectation (as is before said) and the plentifulness or abundance of all things which either to the conservation of man, his food and nutriment, or else to the worship and adoration]~~

1000

x

and

Regis. ...

of the gods, are requisite [and convenable] And because many do wish and desire this, let us reconcile ourselves, [and make a firm peace and infrangible atonement] with Pleasure. For every good and substantial householder has ever his cellars for wine and oil, and other offices for provision of household, [replenished and] well stored; yea, his whole house is with all needful utensils in all points furnished; it is neither destitute of hog, kid, lamb, poultry ware, milk, cheese, nor honey. Now husbandmen themselves find their garden so commodious unto them (~~because it ministreth and bringeth forth plenty of good herbs, wherewith they make them salets, and live well contented with their golden mediocrity, and because it was ever ready at hand and needed no fire to dress and seethe them~~) that they call it another larder, [or flesh-shambles]; also, these same garden herbs, being their daily food and sustentation, are by hunting and hawking made more pleasant and toothsome, although these ~~be~~ exercises which do not necessarily belong to husbandry, but are rather super-
vacuous [and vain]. What may I now say of the [green] verdure [and goodly hue] of the [sweet] meadows, or the orderly setting of trees, or of the [form and] beauty of vines, and places beset with direct rows of olive trees?

since / these things / carefree.

- ?

x

superfluous.

it is second edition.

~~I will in few words show what I think herein.~~
 There can nothing be either for use more commodious, or for profit more gainful, or for the gazing view of the greedy eye, more trim and elegant than a well-tilled and manured field, from the fruition of which ~~so great and blessed a thing,~~ old age bringeth unto man not only no hindrance [nor impediment] but rather inviteth and allureth him unto it. For where may old age be so well warmed either by breathing and sitting against the hot sun, or by a good fire? or, contrariwise, as the time and season of the year serveth, be so wholesomely cooled in shady places, or be so aptly bayned as in the country? Let us therefore bid adieu to all such youthly pranks and exercises as lusty and green-headed gallants, agitated and pricked with the fervent heat of unadvised adolescence, do enufe themselves withal: God speed them well with their usual disports and dalliance; let them take to themselves their armour, weapons, and artillery; let us permit and give them good leave to daunt fierce horses, and with spears in rest to mount on courageous couriers; let them handle the pike, toss the javelin and club daily, and play at the tennis, exercise themselves with running, swimming, [and such-like deeds of activity and nimbleness.] To us old men

11.20 X

11.21

11.22 (2)

11.23 *11.24* *11.25* *11.26* *11.27* *11.28* *11.29* *11.30*

- quoniam Lysander Lacedæmonius
vir summæ virtutis

OF OLD AGE XVII. 131

~~among all their other~~ [games and] pastimes, let them
leave ~~the tables,~~ [the chance-bone or] dice, ~~and the~~
~~chess, which without any danger or sore straining of~~
~~the body may be practised.~~ And yet I will not seem
to allow these last-named games ~~further than every~~
~~man himself is disposed,~~ because they be not necessary,
and old age may without them be blessed and fortun-
ate. / The books of Xenophon are very [expedient and]
profitable for many purposes, the which I would wish
that you should [read over, and] peruse diligently, as
you do. How copiously doth he [extol and] praise
husbandry in his book which he wrote of the right
ordering [and domestical provision] for household!
And because you shall well understand that he think-
eth nothing more prince-like than the manner of
[tillage and] husbandry, he introduceth Socrates in that
book reasoning with Critobulus, and telling him how
[the noble and puissant] Cyrus, the second of that
name, King of Persia, a prince [not only] conspicuous
[and renowned] for his [incomparable wit and] policy,
but also such a one as had the [regiment and] sove-
reignty over many great realms [and populous coun-
tries], ~~delighted exceedingly therein.~~ For whenas
upon a certain time a nobleman of the country
Lacedæmonia, called Lysander, came unto him, then

even
only if do
felicity X

XVII

agriculture
in order the
last for

9 who

See top of p

2)

id ipsum utrum habebit; quoniam scien-
tis bene esse servatis solent.
- qui est de timore. re familiaris, qui
Economus in rebus suis

Jo. 1. 6.
 sojourning at [his fair city of] Sardis, and brought to him from his [fellows in arms and] confederates [divers rich and honourable] presents, he ~~not only in most amiable~~ wise received and welcomed him, showing to him all points of princely courtesy ~~in all other things generally~~, but namely in that he showed him a certain goodly field, hedged in and [trimly enclosed,] set full of trees of all sorts, [most exquisitely planted. Which when Lysander had [well viewed, and steadfastly a good while] with admiration beheld, [and had considered] both the height of the trees and the exact order [which was precisely observed] in the placing [and setting] of them [so equidistantly,] that [which way soever a man cast his eyes] they stood in a most perfect form of a quincuncy, the ground so well laboured and so pure of itself withal, and the redolent smells which the sweet] flowers yielded, he] spake unto the king and] said, that he did not so much [muse and] marvel at the [diligence, handling, and] fine workmanship, as he did at [the promptitude of wit,] the subtle art, [and the politic conveyance] of him that [planted and] set them [in such perfect measure and proportion.] Unto whom Cyrus made this answer: "It is even I (O Lysander)] and none other man] that have [made and] by measure planted all these trees which thou

×
So much as Lysander said to Cyrus

~~seest~~; the order of the rows wherein they stand is my only devise, this plat and description I myself drew, and a great many of these trees were grafted and planted ~~with the labour of~~ mine own hands."

Then Lysander, fixing his eyes upon the king's purple robes and his rich attire, well noting the proper feature of his comely body, the beautiful lineaments and symmetry of his well and portly compact personage, together with all the costly apparel wherein he was after the Persian manner arrayed, his garments powdered and fringed with much gold, precious stones, and orient pearls whose value was ~~inestimable~~, spake these words unto him: "Truly, O Cyrus, ~~now do I well see~~ that it is not ~~done~~ without right good cause and consideration, ~~that thou art~~ bruited abroad and reported in every place to be a happy and a fortunate prince, for unto thy ~~rare~~ virtue and nobleness, fortune also is conjoined and associated." Therefore, old men may use and enjoy this fortune, neither is their age any such let or obstacle for them but that they may ~~in~~ all other things do ~~so~~ semblably; but most chiefly let us ~~embrace~~ the husbandman's life, ~~and employ ourselves to~~ manure and till the ground even until the extreme and last point of our age. We have heard ~~say~~ that

Marcus Valerius Corvinus lived till he was an hundred years old, and in ~~the latter end of~~ his old age lived in the country and gave himself to [culture and] husbandry, ~~after he had been five times consul, and~~ between his first and his sixth consulate there were forty-six years. ~~Therefore~~ that space [and time] of years which our forefathers [appointed and meant to be] the beginning of old age, ~~he so vigorously sustained and overcame~~ that he was thought worthy to bear the highest offices [and dignities] in the commonwealth. And his extreme old age was [herein] more [fortunate and] blessed than his middle age, because [it was decorated with a great deal] more [honour and] authority and [put to much] less [pains and] labour. Now the highest title of praise that can be given to old age is authority. Oh ~~what a noble magistrate~~ *he* was Lucius Cæcilius Metellus! [What a worthy authority was there] in Attilius Collatinus, in whose *see* praise and commendation many nations with one *inst* voice and consent gave this honourable style to be *leg* called the noble protector, the sure shield, the trusty leaning-staff, and the strong bottreaux of the Roman people and these liberties. The epitaph [or encomy] — that was engraven upon his tomb is well known. [Worthily therefore and] by good right ought he to be

Learning!
incidental!

x

he had

room of

in the

he

see

inst

leg

*In quantum spatio... etatis magis...
ad...
et...
et...*

- in quem illud eloquium-
unicum: Plerimae consentiunt
gentes, populi primarium fuisse
vivum. Notum est carmen
inquit in sepulchro.

- for whom was composed this
unique epitaph: Many nations
recognize him to have been the
first citizen of the people. The
whole inscription given on his
tomb is well known.

in order to be able to
understand the meaning of the
text of the document. It is
not sufficient to know the
text of the document.
It is necessary to know
the meaning of the text.

For when we compare the
meaning of the text with
the meaning of the text
we find that the meaning
of the text is the same
as the meaning of the text.
This is the meaning of the text.

Considered

surnamed a grave, honourable personage, of whom so good a report and fame was generally blazed, and testified by the mouth of so many men, without disdain, envy, heart-burning, or grudging of any. What a jewel had we of late days of Publius Crassus, when he was high priest! or of Marcus Lepidus, who in the same office succeeded him! Whereto should I speak of Paulus Æmilius, or Africanus, or of Quintus Maximus (of whom I spake a little before), in whom there was such a portly grace and majesty, that not only in their wise and discreet counsels, but also in their visages and looks, yea, and in their becks there was evidently to be seen and descried the true and lively image of perfect authority? Old age, and specially such as is not contemned nor derided, but revered and honoured, hath in it so great authority, that it is much more to be esteemed, and is far more worth than all the vain pleasures of heady and rash adolescence. } But this I would require you to remember, that in all this my talk I do praise that old age whose foundation was laid and grounded in the years of youth and took his first beginning at adolescence. } Wherupon my old saying (which in open audience I have so often used to speak, and wherunto all men with one accord consented) is verified,

*Ad 1. 7. c. i**- h. h.**all.**in a. a. c.**Quem v.**10. h. l.**-**XVIII.*

which was that that old age which [had no noble deeds to defend itself withal, but] leaned only [to vain jangling] words [and prating vaunts,] was [wretched and miserable. It is not the hoar head and wrinkled face which by and by bringeth honour] and purchaseth estimation,] but [it is an honest and] godly life [that hath ever been conversant and trained in virtue which] getteth [dignity and high] authority in the end. For these things, which seem to be [very] small, are [indeed very] honourable; to be saluted, and desired into the company of honest men; to see many men to go aside and give thee way [where they shall pass]; to be revered; to be [brought and] conducted home; to have many waiters giving attendance on them when they go from home; to be sued unto for counsel, [and to be requested for their patronage and advice in weighty and difficult matters,] which things, both among us and in all other well-governed [and civil-ordered] cities, are most diligently [and precisely] observed.

Lysander, a prince of Lacedæmonia (of whom I spake erewhile) is reported that he would commonly say, that the [most honest and] fittest mansion [or lodging] for old age [to dwell and live in] was Lacedæmonia, for in no place else is so much [prerogative and] reverence

Salutari, appati, decoro, assurgit, deduci,

redditi, consilio;

*appati =
studium*

*appati =
studium*

X

II

I

dwell, lodging, place

The Panathenæic games

OF OLD AGE X.VIII 137

[showed and] given to old age as there. It is also ~~consecrated to perpetual memory and left in writing,~~ that a certain elderly man came ~~on a time~~ into the theatre at Athens, where ~~solemn plays and~~ pageants were exhibited to the people, where there was not one man in the whole assembly ~~being~~ his [natural countrymen and] fellow-citizens that [showed to him any courtesy, neither] gave to him any room to sit in ~~and repose his weak and debilitated members;~~ but when he came among Lacedæmonians (who ~~as it chanced~~ were at that time there as ambassadors, and had their places [in respect of their embassy] accordingly appointed them) they all arose and gave place to him, ~~waiting and receiving him among them to sit in the easiest and honourablest seat.~~ At which [courteous urbanity of the Lacedæmonians,] when all the people in token of praise clapped their hands [with many acclamations gratulatory,] one of the ambassadors [brake out in these words, and] said that the Athenians knew well what was honest ~~and virtuous,~~ but to do it they would not. Many good orders are in our [consistory or] college of senators, and ~~namely~~ this is one: ~~for~~ everyone according to his seniority [and eldership in years] doth first pronounce his sentence [and utter his mind.] And the [ancient and]

in/
and/
7/1

x
augurs

Handwritten notes at the bottom of the page, including the phrase "facere volles."

aged augurs are [esteemed and] preferred not only before ~~right~~ honourable magistrates which bear rule and office, but also before them that have the chief [regiment and sovereign] rule in the commonwealth.

Therefore what corporal pleasures are comparable with these rewards [and advancements] of authority? wherein whosoever gloriously have behaved themselves, they, in mine opinion, have ~~most worthily and commendably~~ played the pageant of the whole ~~dis-~~course of their age, and not like ~~drone-like and idle~~ stageplayers in the last act of all, [given over and] quailed. But ~~many~~ old men be wayward, ill to please, [louring, cumberous,] fretting and chafing, [whining and inexplorable,] and (if we thoroughly sift out the matter) miserable niggards [and pinchpennies also.] But ~~all~~ these are not ~~the~~ faults peculiar to old age, but ~~incident to them whose naughty manners be subject and disposed thereunto.~~ But their wayward-ness and other faults (which I before rehearsed) may allege [and pretend] a small pretext of excusation, which, although it be not true, yet it is such as in appear-ance seemeth to be probable. For they think themselves to be contemned, flouted, [unregarded,] and derided. Furthermore, in a weak [and sore worn] body (~~such as old men have~~) every small offence is

1) x *more*

liberal
inexperience

"ovoid"

faults of

"rositas"

(2)

1) bonum est in se habere

2) non sicut quidem dicitur, sed sicut profertur

habet utilitatem.

^{ing} [odious and seemeth to them] displeasent; all which
 fruits nevertheless through good manners and discip-
 line are [condulcate, qualified, and] made sweet, which
 [thing to be true] may well be perceived both by the
 common course of men's living, and also by the
 comedy [of Terence] entitled *Adelphi*, [where he in-
 duceth two brethren of contrary disposition, inclina-
 tion, and manners, and the one his nature in all
 points varying and swerving from the other's.] What
 [rustical behaviour and cloynish bluntness] is in the
 one! ^{then} Again, [what courteous urbanity, what honest
 demeanour, what civil fashions,] what affability [and
 what lenity] is in the other! So standeth the matter, ^{unde nescit}
~~and so by daily experience is it to be seen.~~ ^{See se res habe} For even
 as every wine being old [and standing long is not con-
 verted into vineigre,] so likewise is not every ^{old!} age sour,
 [eigre, and unpleasant.] Severity [and sternness] in old
 age I [well allow and] commend, so that a moderate
 mean therein (as in all other things) be observed;
 but bitterness [and rigorous dealing] I can in no wise
 brook [nor away withal.] But as for the avarice [and
 covetousness] of old men, I am not acquainted there-
 with, ~~neither do I know what it meaneth.~~ ^{do not x} For
 what can be more absurd [or repugnant to all reason]
 than ~~for a wayfaring man, when his journey is now~~

*Avaritia vero senilis gerit seculi velis (what
 it declines for itself), non auctoris.*

almost dispatched and brought to an end, and hath but little way to go, to provide [and furnish] himself with the more victuals, and the shorter that his journey is, the more to seek and purvey for coostage?

The fourth cause, which most of all grieveth and disquieteth old men, remaineth [yet behind undiscussed], which is the approaching of death, [and the nearness thereof] which truly cannot be far off from old age. O miserable [and wretched] old castiff, if in so long a time as he hath lived, he hath not perceived [and learned] that death is utterly to be contemned, [and not at all to be feared]: which were either flatly to be despised if it did utterly kill [and slay] the mind, ~~that nothing afterward should remain~~, or else is greatly to be desired, if it be the instrument [and gate] whereby the [same mind or] soul [passeth and] is carried into bliss for evermore with immortal and everlasting felicity to be eternized. Certes, there can no third or mean be found. Therefore what should I fear, if after death I shall be either not miserable, or else blessed? *Not-Res.* ~~withstanding~~, who is he that hath so small reason [and wit] to [avouch and] awarrant himself (although he were never so lusty) that he shall live till the next evening? Yea, I say this further, young men are subject to more occasions of death (because of the humours and blood

XIX

4
manid
(1) x

(2)

han. xi. i. i.

(1) quare non potest negligenter esse

(2) Aliqui testium certe nihil inveniri

scilicet.

which do abound in them, and are the nourishers of the matter of maladies and diseases). They fall sooner into sickness [and infirmities] their diseases are more perilous [and vehement] their [recovery and] cure more difficile. And, therefore, there are but few that [live till they] come to old age, which, if it were not so, ~~but that there might be a great number of old men,~~ they would live [a great deal] more pleasantly and wisely.

For wit, reason, and good counsel resteth in old men, and therefore, if there were no old men, there would consequently be no cities. But I will leave ~~these digressions or by-reckonings, and convert my talk to speak of imminent death.~~ *had be*
 Is this any evil [or fault] that can be laid to old age, since you daily see the same to [belong and] be common as well to adolescence? I myself have had good proof and felt the *retire*
~~heavy experience,~~ [not only] by [the immature death of] *in obli*
 my worthy [and loving] son, but also of thy brethren, *scilicet in*
 Scipio ~~(of whom the Romans for their noble toward-~~ *reho*
~~ness had conceived a great hope to see them advanced~~ *scilicet in*
 to [most ample and] high dignities), that death is common to all age, ~~both young and old indifferently.~~ *scilicet in*
 But a young man hopeth to live long, which an old man may not look to do. He truly feedeth himself with *scilicet in*
 a vain and a foolish hope. For what merer folly can

there be, than to accompt[and repute] things which be
 [doubtful and]uncertain, for[infalible and]certain, and
 things that are false, for true?— An old man hath no-
 thing to hope for; But he is therefore in far better
 [state and]case than is a young man, for he hath already
 [enjoyed and]obtained that, which the young man doth
 but hope for. The one desireth to live long, the other
 hath already lived long: albeit (O Lord) what is in
 man's life, that may be said to be long [and of any
 diuturnity]? Admit we live ~~to extreme old age~~; let
 us hope and think that we shall live as long as ~~ever~~ did
 the King of Tartessians. His name (as I find in his-
 tories) was Argantonius, who in [the Isles called] Gades,
~~in the furthest parts of Spain,~~ reigned eighty years and
 lived a hundreth and twenty. But to me there seem-
 eth nothing long, wherein any [extreme or]end is; for
 when that end [or extreme] is once come, then all which
 is already past is quite gone, and nothing remaineth
 but only that which a man hath by virtue achieved,
 and by good deeds and words perpetrated. For hours
 go alway apace, so do days, months, and years, and the
 time, which is once slipped by and gone, never re-
 turneth, neither can the times and things which are
 to come be precisely known. Therefore every one
 ought to be contented with the [space and]time which

con. v. 10. 11.

Dei boni

the King

God granteth him to live. For he that is a stage-
 player needeth not of necessity to be an actor in the
 [interlude or] comedy till the last end thereof (to delight
 the beholders), but in what act of the same soever he
 [playeth or] chanceth to be, he must so [expressly handle
 and] play his part, that he may win praise [and com-
 mendation]; ~~neither should~~ a wise man live till the *best*
~~plaudite~~ [be stricken up]. For a short [space and time of]
 life is long enough to live well and honestly, ~~and in
 whatsoever age we be in, it is sufficient to have lived
 therein godly and virtuously.~~ But if you proceed
 further, [and live to extremity of age] you must not be
 discontented [nor aggrieved] therewith, no more than
 e husbandmen do, ~~to see~~ after a pleasant [and temperate] *when*
 spring season, summer, and autumn ~~to~~ succeed. For
 the spring-time [resembleth and] is like to adolescence,
 [displaying and plainly] showing what fruits will grow;
 all the other [times and] seasons serve to [reap, mow, cut
 down,] gather, [glean,] and receive them into the barns. *harve*
 Now the fruit of old age (as I said before) is ~~a pure~~ *harve*
 and upright conscience, and the good testimony or *harve*
 witness that a man's own mind beareth, of the virtuous
 and irreprehensible life, decently and inculpably led.

For all things which come by course of nature are
 to be reckoned [and accounted] among good things;] ✓

L.

ante partem: bonorum memoria etc
 (the remembrance & the enjoyment of
 good things previously acquired.)

and what is so much according to natural course as for an old aged man to die? Which doth happen to young men, as it were, maigre nature's good-will. Therefore, young men, ~~in mine opinion~~, seem so to die as when a [raging and violent] flame of fire is quenched, with a great quantity [or effusion] of water; but old men die as ~~it were~~ fire, which, lacking [wood and combustible] matter to nourish it, goeth out quietly [and is quenched, as though it were of his own accord,] not forcibly. And as apples which are [green and] unripe are not plucked from the tree but by ~~a certain~~ violent plucking, but if they be ripe and mellow, they fall voluntarily down from the tree; so likewise, young men depart out of their life by violent force [and painful struggling] but old men die by ~~a certain~~ [ripeness and] maturity. And as often as I think thereon, I am ~~rapt with such joy and comfort~~, that the nearer I draw and approach to death, the sooner, methink, I ~~see the~~ dry land, and (as it were, after a long navigation [and seafaring voyage]) shall at length arrive at the [quiet haven and] port of ~~all rest and security~~. All other ages have a certain number of years appointed, [how long every one continueth,] but unto old age there are no determinate [and certain] times limited [and prefixed,] and therefore thou livest therein well [and laudably,]

in spite of nature.

in here.

by force.

of themselves.

*his [maturity] is ready to agree
with the tree*

*(See the land)
3.3*

XX.

as long as thou canst [execute thy office,] discharge thy duty, [and defend thine authority,] and yet, nevertheless, to contemn death. And for this cause, it happeneth that old age is endued with greater courage and animosity than [adolescence and] youth is. And this is the cause, that when the tyrant Peisistratus demanded of Solon [how he durst be so bold, or] wherein he reposed his trust, so [wilfully and] boldly to gainsay [and disobey] his proceedings: Solon answered him that he trusted to his old age, ~~and that was it that made him full of courage, and gave him boldness to resist him; forasmuch as he with lawless force and monstrous tyranny had attempted to oppress the commonwealth, miserably crushed through his unbridled and tyrannical invasions.~~ But the best end of life is this: when nature, which [compact and] framed the body, doth likewise dissolve [and bring to death] the same, ~~being in good and perfect remembrance,~~ the use of the wits and senses in no part [appeared nor] diminished. For even as the shipwright which made the ship knoweth best how to [undo and] pull the same asunder again, and as none hath better skill to [unjoint or] take down a house than the carpenter that made it; even so nature, which fashioned ~~the feature of the body and set the same in a most decent symmetry,~~ doth best

firmness
X

*Hor. lib. 1. 1. quod Peisistrato tyranno a
Solone responsum est, quum illi quaerenti
qua tandem spe frater sibi tam audaciter
obstitisset, respondisse dicitur: Senectute*

^{Now}
 dissolve [and end] it [by natural death]. For every con-
 glutination when it is fresh [and newly] glewed together,
 will not easily be pulled asunder ~~but by violent haling~~
~~and forcible rupture,~~ but when it is [inveterate and] old,
 it may easily be [divelled and] severed. Thus, you see
 that the small [remnant and] time of our [race and] life
~~which is behind unrun,~~ is neither affectuously to be
 desired, nor without cause to be [left and] forsaken.
 And ~~the famous philosopher,~~ Pythagoras, giveth us a
 sore charge, that we should not depart out of the
 garrison and ward-house of this life unless we have
 [commission and] commandment from our general-
 captain, which is God. Solon his ~~wise saying is very~~
~~notable and praiseworthy,~~ for he would not that his
 death [should be unbewailed and unlamented of his
 friends. His meaning (I think) was because he would
 not seem to be forgotten, but rather entirely to be
 beloved [and remembered] of his friends, ~~which thing~~
~~their dolorous plaints and inward griefs at his last end~~
~~and funeral obsequies should bewray and evidently~~
~~witness.~~ But yet Ennius his opinion ~~in like case may,~~
 in my judgment, be better allowed, ~~for he would not~~
~~have his friends to mean and lament for him after his~~
~~death,~~ and these are his words:—

"Surcease from tears, when I am dead,
 And let not them for me be shed,

*The same opinion is expressed in the
 following lines of the same poet.*

*From several legends, etc. in the same
immortalized consequences*

OF OLD AGE **XX**,

147

When death shall with his deadly dart
My corpse and soul asunder part!
And why? the clanging trump of fame
Shall ever sound abroad my name."]

X

This noble poet would not have the death of them to be lamented and with feminine blubbering and screeches to be bewailed, whose praise and virtue is immortalised and enrolled in the book of fame, and their worthy deeds registered in the scroll of eternity.]

See top of p.

As touching ~~the bitter pangs and extreme agonies~~ which they suffer, that lie in dying (if there may any such be), ~~truly~~ it continueth but for a small while, specially in an old man; and after death, the sense is either such as is [blessed and] optable, or else it is none at all. ~~But all~~ young men ought to imprint ~~this~~ in their minds, ~~and meditate the same, that they be not~~ in any ~~servile and dastardly~~ fear of death, ~~but to stand~~ at defiance and contemn it. For whatsoever enureth not himself with this meditation cannot have a quiet mind. We are most sure that we must die, and we know not whether our hour will come even that same very day. Therefore he that ~~every hour~~ standeth in fear of death, how can his mind be in any [rest or] tranquillity. Whereof there needeth no very long disputation to be had, sith I do well remember not only

that

- desirable

to be

who

but

*every manner
of standing*

*... the ...
... "volita ..."*

1) x *more*

aged augurs are [esteemed and] preferred not only before ~~right~~ honourable magistrates which bear rule and office, but also before them that have the chief [regiment and sovereign] rule in the commonwealth. Therefore what corporal pleasures are comparable with these rewards [and advancements] of authority? wherein whosoever gloriously have behaved themselves, they, in mine opinion, have ~~most worthily and commendably~~ played the pageant of the whole ~~dis-~~course of their age, and not like ~~drone-like and idle~~ stageplayers in the last act of all, [given over and] quailed. But ~~many~~ old men be wayward, ill to please, [louring, cumberous,] fretting and chafing, [whining and inexorable,] and (if we throughly sift out the matter) miserable niggards [and pinchpennies also.] But ~~all~~ these are not ~~the~~ faults peculiar to old age, but ~~incident to them whose naughty manners be subject and disposed thereunto.~~ But their wayward-^{ness} ~~ness~~ and other faults (which I before rehearsed) may ~~allege~~ [and pretend] a small pretext of excusation, which, although it be not true, yet it is such as in appearance seemeth to be probable. For they think themselves to be contemned, flouted, [unregarded,] and derided. Furthermore, in a weak [and sore worn] body (~~such as old men have~~) every small offence is

*life -
inexperience**'orrida'**faults of**corrositas*

(2)

*(1) bonum autem dicitur**2) non illius quidem, sed eius proferi**the education.*

[odious and seemeth to them] displeasent; all which
ing faults nevertheless through good manners and discip-
 line are [condulcate, qualified, and] made sweet, which
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 with, ~~neither do~~ I know what it meaneth. For
 what can be more absurd [or repugnant to all reason]
 than ~~for a wayfaring man, when his journey is now~~

*Avaritian vero sine re sua non videtur
 ut claudat for blood), non videtur.*

Lucius Brutus, who in the quarrel of his country, which was despoiled and with tyranny oppressed, most manfully was slain; the two Decii, who, being armed at all pieces and mounted on horseback, galloped and gave themselves willingly to death for their country's sake; Marcus Regulus, who (rather than he would forswear himself and break promise with his most deadly and bloody enemies) went willingly to his most certain torment and punishment (where he well knew that he should suffer death after a strange and terrible manner), and would not in any wise by his kinsfolks and friends be altered and removed from his determination; the two Scipios, who with their own bodies chose rather to stop the passage of the fresh succours (which, under the conduct of Hannibal, came to aid Hannibal and the proud Carthaginians, for infesting and afflicting Italy with sword, famine, and fire), than to suffer and permit them to set any foot within the territories and precincts of the Roman dition; your grandfather, Lucius Paulus, who, through the temerity and folly of his fellow-in-office, [C]rentius Varro, was in that ignominious overthrow and shameful discomfiture in the conflict and battle of Cannae, slain and brought to confusion; and Marcus Marcellus, whose valiance and magnanimity was so great and so well

tried, that his and our cruel enemy, [Hannibal,] when he had slain him in the field, caused his dead corse with [all funeral pomp and solemnity of sepulture to be interred; but also how our legions] and armies] courageously adventured [to take such voyages and venturous expeditions] into such dangerous places, from whence they looked [not] to return alive again; whereof I have written in my book of *Originals*. Shall, therefore, old men, which have [great knowledge and] experience, fear that which young striplings, and the same not only unskillful, but also [blunt and] rustical, do contemn [and care not for] But, methinks, satiety of all things causeth satiety of life. ~~There are some fantastical and childish plays whereat young children in their childhood delight to play;~~ shall, therefore, young men [and tall fellows] addict themselves to the same ~~comblably?~~ There are [some exercises and] affections wherein youthly years do enure themselves: shall the ripe [and constant] age (which is called the middle age of man) look to play at the same? And of this middle age there are [some studies, wills, and appetites] which old age careth not for. And there be [some studies and exercises] belonging [and appropriate] to old age. And ~~therefore~~ as the pleasure, [and delight of the studies and exercises

[Remember]

Origins

ignorant

in the pleasures
their age

employments

called

in fresher and lustier ages doth in time wear away
 and come to an end, so doth the studies of old
 age in continuance and tract of time also die and
 vanish. And when this pleasure and delightful con-
 tentation begins in ~~old men~~ once to decrease, then
 doth satiety of life bring ~~to them~~ a convenable and
 mature time to die. For verily I cannot see why I
 should not be bold to utter and declare to you ~~twain~~
~~the very entire cogitations of my heart,~~ and the
 opinion which I have of death, and the rather because
 I suppose that I do better know and see it, as one
 that now am near the pit's brink, having one of my
 feet already in the grave. And I am in this belief (O
 Publius Scipio and Caius Laelius) that your noble
 fathers, men for their virtuous manners and worthy
 demerit immortalised, who also were my most dear
 and loving friends, do yet live, yea, and such a life as
 is worthy only to be called a life, which is immortal
 and not transitory. For as long as we dwell and be
 included within this lumpish body, proportioned with
 joints, sinews, flesh, bone, and other parts, which may
 be called the prison or case of our soul, we are driven
 and by a necessity enforced to do some actions (will we
 or will we not) as to sleep, eat, drink; etc., and to do
 some cumbersome works which are inevitable. But

...
 ...
 ...
 ... grave of ...
 ...

animus - (soul & belief)

OF OLD AGE

had been earth

the mind or soul, which is divine and celestial, sent down from God out of heaven and infused into man, is depressed and [as it were forcibly dejected or] thrust down to the earth, being a place quite contrary to divine nature and eternity, because it is mortal and visible, whereas the other is immortal and invisible. But I do think that the immortal Gods inspired minds into human bodies because there should be some to inhabit the earth, who, beholding and considering the orders of the celestial bodies, and weighing how duly they observe their courses and motions, might imitate and follow the same right order in the ~~trades~~ of their life and constancy. And not only reason and frequent disputation moveth me thus to believe, but also the profound doctrine and authorities of most noble and approved philosophers. For I have ~~been in place where~~ I heard that Pythagoras and his disciples which inhabited within our country, and ~~were in manner free denizens within our precinct and dominion (for they were once named Italian Philosophers) affirmed and said that they were never otherwise persuaded nor never held opinion to the contrary, but that our minds were formed and derived from the universal divinity of God.~~ Furthermore, it was told me what Socrates [disputed and] spake con-

its

is plain

x

... it is

the Pythagoreans

double

... it is plain even before made above contentions (regularly)

cerning the immortality of the soul, ~~and what he~~
~~openly said, being an ancient philosopher, and~~ (one
 whom Apollo his oracle judged the wisest man in
 the whole world) even the last day of his life, ~~a little~~
~~before his death.~~ What needeth ~~many~~ words? I am
 so firmly persuaded, and ~~on this point so wholly~~
 resolved, seeing the ~~it~~ so great celerity of the mind,
 so good remembrance of things past, and so great
 forecast and prudence in things to come, so many
 arts, so many sciences, so many inventions [and
 ingenious devices,] that the nature which [understand-
 eth and] containeth [the knowledge of all] these things is
 not mortal. And sith the mind is ever moved,
 having no beginning of motion because it moveth it-
 self, and shall never have any end of motion, because
 it is eternal, and shall never leave itself: and sith the
 nature of the mind is simple, having nothing mixed
 to it which is unlike and discrepant to it, I thereby
 know that it is indivisible, whereupon it [consequently
 followeth that] forasmuch as it [is indivisible] it can
 never die [and perish utterly.]

And these reasons following ~~make much for the~~
 probation thereof, that men know many things before
 they be born, that children (notwithstanding the
 abstruse and painful difficulty of arts) do so quickly

*more**various**the**the**the**po. 180**it**consequently**great**the**they**- great*

- Si nihil eorum speremus animi affertentur
lectis memoriam sic tenentur.

Seige.

OF OLD AGE XXXII

153

learn [and, as who would say, snatchingly conceive] innumerable things, that they seem not then ~~at the~~ first to learn them, but rather repeat and call them again to memory. [These be for the most part the arguments and reasons which the divine philosopher Plato allegeth and bringeth for his proof of the immortality of the souls.] Also Xenophon writeth that King Cyrus, the elder, lying on his death-bed, spake these words following ~~to his children~~ :—

“I would not (my children) that you should think, when I am departed out of this life and gone from you, that I shall be nowhere or brought to nothing. For you never saw [with your bodily eyes] my mind, [during all this] while that I lived here with you : but [as long as I dwelled in this body] you well perceived [and knew] by my [valiant exploits and] acts, that I had a mind. Therefore think you not otherwise but that I am the very same still, and my said mind shall still remain as before, although you see it not visibly. For neither should the noble memorial and honourable monuments of [princes and] worthy personages remain after their death, if in their lifetime, by the policy and prowess of their minds, they did not achieve some worthy enterprises, whereby their fame and honour might be remembered [and magnified of their posterity.] Truly

x (4)

XXXII.

(2)

should
should
could
could

Non Historicum

o mibi carissimi filii...

it would never sink in my brain that [the minds or] souls did live only while they remained in mortal bodies, and being departed out of them ~~utterly to die,~~ ^d ~~that no more of them should remain.~~ Nor that the soul ~~and mind of sets and fools is doltish~~ [and blockish] when it is set at liberty] and departed] out of these foolish bodies; but when it is purified from the ~~filthy~~ ^{filthy} admixtion] and drossy impurity] of the ~~same~~ body, and ~~freed from imperfection and~~ beginning to be sound, perfect and clear, then is it wise, ~~sapient, and in-~~ ~~corrupt.~~

"And man's nature being by death dissolved, it is apparent] and well enough to all men known] to what place all the other parts do go, for they do all return] to that matter] whereof they had their] first and original beginning; but the mind only is never] with any bodily eyes] seen] nor perceived] neither when it is in the body, nor when it] goeth and] departeth out of the body.

"Now, you see that nothing is so like to death as sleep. And yet the minds of them that are asleep do greatly declare their divinity; for when they be at quietness and rest and ~~with no careful cogitations~~ overwhelmed, they do foresee many things to come, whereby it may plainly be perceived] how and] in

what happy state they shall be, when they be [dis-
 missed and] discharged out of [their dungeon or gaol of]
 their mortal bodies. If, therefore, these things be
 true, then [reverence and] honour me as a god ~~for the~~
~~participation of the divine nature which is in my~~
~~mind.~~ But if the soul do die together with the body
 (~~as some ass-headed philosophers, flattering themselves~~
~~in their bestial living and wallowing like swine in the~~
~~filthy puddle of their epicurial sensuality, have affirmed)~~
 yet you, ever dreading the gods, being the protectors,
 [disposers] and governors of all the beautiful [ornament
 and furniture of this wide] world, shall not miss, but
 godly and inviolably [solemnise and] keep the memorial
 of me."

These advertisements and exhortations Cyrus gave to
 his sons, lying on his deathbed. Now let us (if you think
 good) take a survey of our own selves, and see whether
 the same opinion and belief be not to be found in us and
 in other of our countrymen. I will be plain with thee,
 Scipio: no man in the world shall ever be able to per-
 suade me that either thy father, Paulus Æmilius, or
 thy two grandfathers, Paulus and Africanus, or Publius
 Scipio, the brother of Africanus, or Caius Scipio, his
 uncle, or many more famous and worthy men which here
 need not to be rehearsed, would ever have attempted

*Cyrus quidem hoc dixit. Hoc est
 verum verum.*

^{great things}
 X such ~~perilous adventures~~ (only to leave a noble and
 worthy memorial ~~of their fame and valiance~~ to their
 sequel whom they wished should take example of their
 fortitude and tread in the footsteps of their laudable
 virtues, whereby they might achieve like success in
 their glorious affairs, and not fear to die in the
 quarrel of their country when foreign hostility in-
 vaded it), if with the quick understanding of their
 minds they had not well seen and considered that
 their posterity [appertained and] belonged to them.
 Do you think that I (for I may, I trust, somewhat
 vaunt and boast of myself, as old men are wont to do)
 would ever have undertaken so many labours and
 painful travails night and day, both in the time of
 peace and also of war, if I had had this opinion fixed
 and rooted in my mind, that my glory and fame
 should extend no further than my natural life, and
 that when the one ceased the other should die also?
 For if that were so, were it not (I pray you) a great
 deal better to lead a quiet life, sequestered and
 exempt from all hurly-burly and toiling business, and
 never to intermeddle with contentious matters and
 the laborious affairs of the weal public? But the
 mind of noble personages (I know not how it chan-
 eth) erecting itself and taking courage, had ever such

my n

the nature of the mind is not fixed, but it is

the nature of the mind is not fixed, but it is

the nature of the mind is not fixed, but it is

a careful respect to their ^{posterity} succession, as though when
 they were departed out of this life, they should then
 at length, and never till then, live [and flourish] their
 incomparable gifts triumphing over cankered oblivion
 and their virtuous lives over mortal death. For if it
 were not ~~so~~ that the souls should be immortal, the
 mind of every [good and] virtuous man would not so
 earnestly with all his study and devoir seek to attain
 and aspire to immortal glory [and perpetual renown.]
 Furthermore, every [good and] wise man dieth
 willingly, and rejoiceth therein exceedingly, taking
 death to be a joyful messenger to summon him to
 endless felicity: on the other side, every foolish man
 dieth unwillingly. Do you not think that that mind
 which seeth better and further off, doth well perceive
 [and know] that he goeth to a far better state than in
 this world is to be found? Again, the mind of the
 foolish sort, whose sight is dimmer [and duller] doth
 not see [nor understand] so much. But, verily, I have
 a great desire to see [and behold] your fathers, whom I
 entirely loved, and had for their singular virtues in
 great admiration. And not them only am I so
 earnestly affected to see, with whom I was very
 familiarly acquainted, but others also of whom I have
 both heard, read, and also written. And when I am

"Hic" quod sapienter et prudenter
 homo mundum, stultitiamque
 - quod color et dilecti.

in my journey to them (~~which I so greatly desire~~)
 there should no man bring me back again, ~~though he~~
~~would and also could, neither to make me to retire~~
~~to the place from whence I came, like to a ball which~~
~~tennis players toss and strike to their counter players,~~
~~and they again to the other side, yea,~~ though he
 would undertake to renew my youth again, as we read
 that Pelias ~~was in his old age.~~ ~~I will say more,~~ if
 God would grant me now in this age to return again
 to my infancy and to be ~~as young~~ as a child that
 lieth crying in his cradle, I would refuse and forsake
 the offer with all my might; neither would I when I
 have already in a manner run the whole race and
~~won the goal,~~ be again revoked from the end marks
 to the lists, or place where I took my course at the
 first setting out. ~~For who would be contented,~~ when
 he hath gotten the best game, ~~to be forced to run~~
~~again for the same?~~ What pleasure and commodity
 hath life? ~~yea,~~ rather, what pain, toil and labour hath
 it not? But let us admit that it had great com- ^{h.s}
~~modity,~~ yet, undoubtedly, it hath either an end or
 else satiety. ~~For I mean not to lament and deplore~~ ^{dey}
~~the lack of the pleasant and fresh time of my youth,~~ ^{cia}
 as ~~diverse and the same~~ right well-learned men have done;
 neither do I repent that I have lived, because I have

*que non in melius natum est, nam fidei
fideliter*

OF OLD AGE ~~XXII~~ 159

so lived and led my life that I may judge of myself that I was not born in vain, ~~but rather for great utility and special consideration.~~ And I depart out of this life as out of an inn, and not out of a dwelling-house. For nature hath given to us a lodging to remain and sojourn in for a time, and not to dwell continually. O lucky and blessed day wherein I shall take my journey to appear before the blissful troop and convocation of happy minds, and leave this troublesome world, ~~being the vale of all misery and the filthy sink of all mischief~~ For I shall not only go to those worthy men (of whom I spake a little before), but also to my dear son Cato, who was a man of such ~~sanctity and goodness as none more, of such sincere and unstained honesty~~ as none better, whose body was with funeral rites put into the fire and burned to ashes by me his father, whereas it had been more meet and more agreeable to the course of nature that my body should have been with semblable obsequies and ceremonies first burnt and intumulate by him. But his mind and soul not utterly forsaking me, but ever looking and expecting my coming, is gone before into those places of joy whither he perceived that I myself (~~ere it be long~~) must also come. Which brunt of calamity and heavy chance of sorrow

M

*Quod non in melius natum est, nam fidei
fideliter*

I seemed patiently to sustain, not because I did take the matter so patiently indeed; but I comforted myself thinking and deeming that we should not be long asunder, ~~but after a time again to have a joyful meeting.~~ These are the causes and the very reasons, Scipio (~~because~~ you and Laelius said you much marvelled thereat) which make ~~my~~ old age to me easy and tolerable, and not only without all grievance and disturbance, but also replenished with all expedient pleasures. And if I do err because I think that the souls of men be immortal, verily I am well contented in the same error still to continue, and as long as I live I will never renounce nor recant the same, wherein I take such singular pleasure and comfort; and if it were ~~not so~~, that after death I should feel nothing nor have no sense at all (as certain pettifoggers and bastard philosophers hold opinion) I fear not a whit least ~~these lip-labourers and idiotical~~ philosophers, when they themselves be dead, should scoff and make a mocking-stock at this mine assertion and belief, ~~because they themselves shall also be without sense, and like to brute beasts.~~ But admit that after death we should not be immortal, yet is it both convenient and also optable for a man, when he hath honestly played his part in the pageant of this life, to

*... quae delectationem, cum
... quae delectationem.*

in done done

die [and pay his debt to nature.] For nature as she hath ~~an end~~ of all other things, so also of living. And old age is, ~~as it were~~, the peroration or final ~~end~~ of a man's time in this world, much like to [the epilogue or] catastrophe of an interlude, the wearisome repetition or defatigation whereof we ought to avoid and eschew, and especially when [we are fully] cloyed with satiety. Thus much ~~at your request~~ I had to say concerning old age, unto the which God grant you may arrive, that the things which you have heard of me [by mouth] you may prove true by [certain trial and] actual experiment.

*a creature
ack*

fa

-

FINIS.

*1. nature - nat'l law - reason
death is natural*
*2. immortality of soul / immortal
deliberate / divine / immortality / immortality*

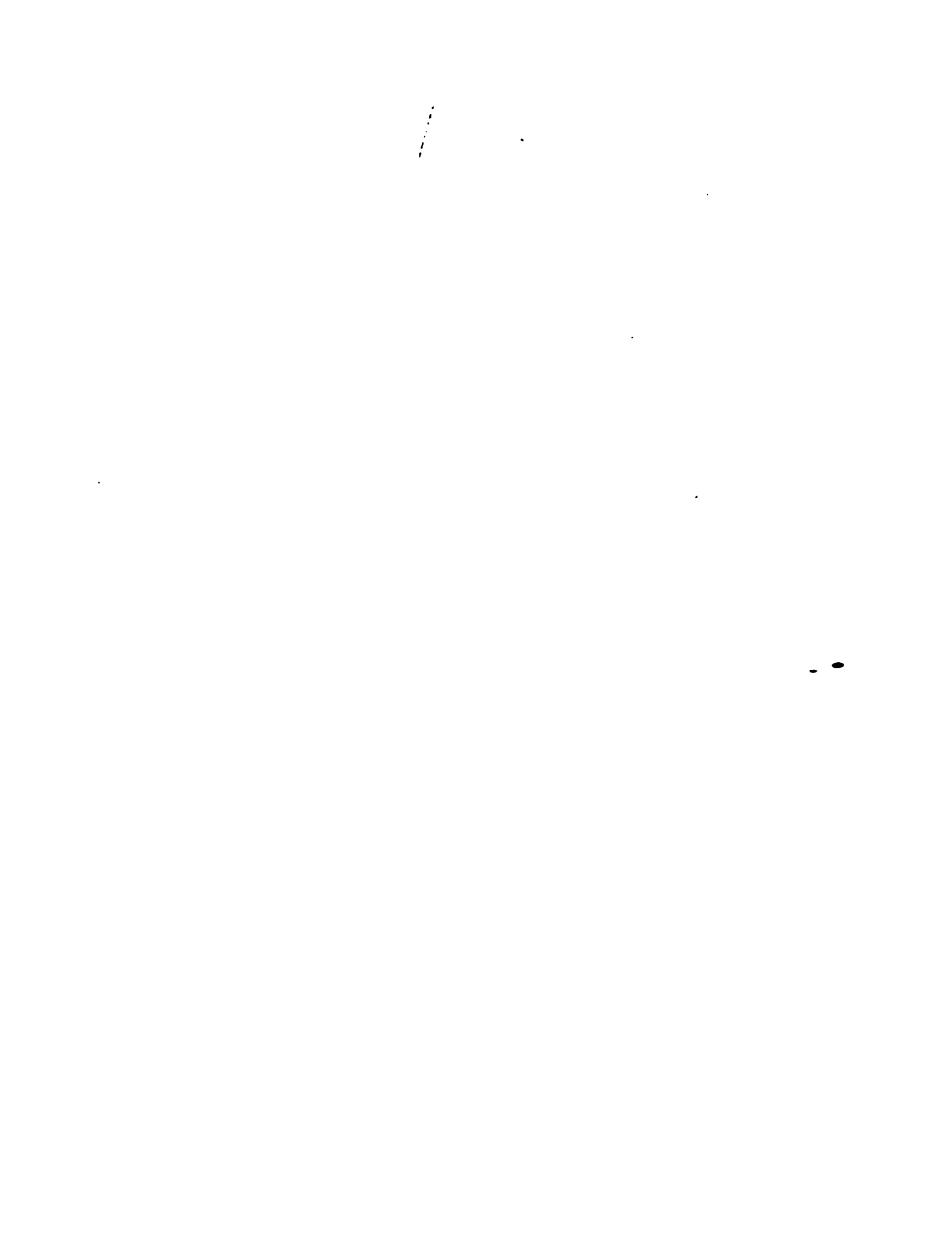
12. CICERO'S BOOK
4 OF SCIPIO'S DREAM

*The young man
Scipio Africanus.*

See p. ix

*Since B.C. 128 - still before the death
of Scipio*

See p. 9.



AFTER my coming into Afrique, being Marshal or Tribune to the Fourth Legion of Soldiers (as you know), Anicius Manilius being then Consul, I was desirous to do nothing so much as to visit King Masinissa, one that for good causes and just respects beareth most unfeigned goodwill to our house and family. Before whose presence when I came, the old king, lovingly embracing me in his arms, wept, and within a while after looked up toward heaven and said: "I render thanks unto thee, O sovereign Sun, and unto all you other celestial bodies, that before I depart out of this life, I do see within mine own territory and kingdom, yea, and under the roof of my house, my most beloved Publius Cornelius Scipio, with whose only name I am refreshed and comforted." For the remembrance of that most noble and invincible man never departeth out of my mind. Then began I to question with him concerning the state of his kingdom, and he me of our commonwealth, and so with much talk to and fro had, we spent that day.

But afterward, being entertained with princely
apparate furniture and courtesy, we continued our talk till far
 in the night, the old king speaking of nothing else
 but of Africanus, and having in fresh memory not only
 his valiant acts, but also his wise and pithy sayings.
 Then after we were gone to bed, I being both weary
 with my journey, and having over-watched myself
 before, slept more soundly than I was wont and ac-
 customed to do. Here methought (I think verily it
 was because we had talked of him before, for it is
 commonly seen that our cogitations and talk do re-
 present and cause some such thing in our sleep, as
 Ennius writeth of Homer, that is to say such as the
 mind waking used oftenest to think on) Africanus
 appeared and showed himself unto me ~~in such a~~
 manner of shape, whereby he was better known of
 me than he could have been by his own person.
 Whom after that I knew, truly I shivered and was sore
 afraid. But (quoth he unto me) be of good cheer
 and lay aside all fear, O Scipio, and commit well to
 memory such things as I shall tell thee. Dost thou not
 see yonder city, which, having been once heretofore
 compelled by me to yield obeisance to the Roman
 people, reneweth old grudges, seeketh new wars, and
 cannot be quiet? and showed Carthage unto me from

*The king appeared to the man
 in a manner of shape which he
 had never seen before.*

an high and stelliferous, clear and lightsome place:—
 to the besieging and conquest whereof thou now comest,
 being now in manner but a private soldier: this same
 shalt thou, being consul, subvert and destroy within
 these two years, and shalt thereby purchase and win a
 surname to thyself, which thou hast as yet of ~~us~~ by
 descent of inheritance. And when thou hast spoiled
 and overthrown Carthage, made a solemn triumph of
 victory, borne the office of consul, and hast been am-
 bassador into Egypt, Syria, Asia and Greece, thou
 shalt being absent be chosen and elected the second time
 consul, and ~~shalt be the victorious general of a mighty~~
~~battle, and shalt achieve a most noble enterprise in~~
 sacking and utterly ruining Numantia. But when
 thou shalt at thy return enter into the Capitol riding
 in a chariot, thou shalt find the commonwealth [mar-
 vellously frusshed and] disquieted through the ruffling
 stir [and procurement] of my nephew.

Herein, O Africanus, it shall be very expedient
 and needful that thou set to thy helping hand, and
 show forth for thy country's sake [and behoof the
 hault courage and undaunted prowess of] thy mind,
 wit, and counsel. But of that time, I ~~do~~ see, ~~as it~~
~~were~~, the way of [fate and] destiny to be very doubtful.
 For when thou comest to be seven times eight winters

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gives the
distinction

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9000000

Courage

elder of the juvenile - Libians

and summers old, and that these two numbers, whereof both are accompted full, the one for several cause from the other, shall accomplish and make the fatal term of the years thou shalt live with a natural circuit, upon thee only and thy name shall the whole city lean and repose her trust. Thee shall the honourable Senate reverence; thee will all good men honour; thee will all fellows and confederates of the Roman people regard; thee will the Latins adore and trust to; in thee only shall the safeguard and preservation of the city consist. And, to be short, thou being installed in the office of Dictator, must redress the abuses of the commonwealth and set the same in good order, if thou mayest escape the cursed hands of thine own kindred ~~and lineage~~. At this last ~~said~~ Laelius, ~~with pitiful speeches~~ crying out, and all the residue greatly sorrowing, Scipio mildly, smilingly said: I pray you not awake me out of my sleep; be quiet and hear the rest.

But to the end, Africanus, that thou shouldest have the more will and animosity to defend the weal-public, make thy sure accompt of this: that unto all those which have been maintainers, aiders and increasers of their country, a certain and definite place is here in heaven appointed, where they in blessed state shall live everlastingly. For there is nothing that can

x
exclamation
 I was belived that he was poisoned by
 his wife - the sister of the praetor - by
 Lucius Junius

be done on earth which pleaseth God, the most high and mighty Prince of all, the Protector and Governor of this whole world, than mutual counsels and assemblies of men linked and combined together with faithful society and brotherly fellowship, which are called by the name of cities; the upright magistrates and maintainers whereof, departing hence shall hither return. Here, albeit I was sore afraid, not so much for dread and fear of death, as for the treacherous conspiracy and unnatural dealing of some of mine own kinsfolk. Yet I demanded of him whether he were living, and my father Paulus, and others moe, whom we supposed and thought to be dead. Yea, undoubtedly (quoth he), they are alive, which are delivered out of the bonds of their mortal bodies as out of a prison. But that which you call life, is death. Yea, behold where thy father Paulus cometh toward thee.

Whom when I saw, certes I shed great abundance of tears. But he, embracing and kissing me, bade me surcease from weeping. As soon as I had left weeping and was able to speak, I beseech you, most holy and worthy father (quoth I), seeing this is the true life (as I hear Africanus say) why do I linger and tarry on earth, and not hasten and make speed to come hither to you? Not so (quoth he) for unless God, who is

the owner of all this temple which thou seest, dismiss and loose thee from the custody of thy body, there cannot be any entry or passage open for thee to come hither. For men be created to this end and condition, that they should manure and inhabit the round globe or ball, which thou seest in the middle of this temple, called the earth. And to them is infused and given a mind out from these everlasting lights, which you call planets and stars, which being perfect round and bowl-wise, inspired with divine and heavenly power do finish and execute their revolutions, circles and orbs with marvellous celerity and quickness. And therefore, Publius, it behoveth both thee and all other godly persons to keep still your minds within the custody of your bodies, and not to depart out of your mortal life without the commandment of him that first gave and inspired the same into you, least in so doing you should seem to refuse and start from the function and office that is unto you appointed and assigned by God. But, Scipio, see that thou embrace and maintain justice and piety as thy grandfather here before thee, and thy father which begot thee, have done. Which albeit it be great towards our parents and kinsfolk, yet namely and especially it is greatest and most to be required to our native

country, and that life is the right way into heaven and into this fellowship and company of them which have now already finished their natural race on earth, and being dismissed out of their bodies do inhabit this place of joy which thou seest. The place was a very white and shining circle, resplendent among flames, which you (borrowing and taking a name from the Greeks) do term and call the Milky Circle. Whereupon I perusing all things, all the residue seemed excellent and wonderful. And there were those stars which we never saw from the place, and they were all such a great bigness as we never thought they had been. Among whom that was the least, which being furthest off from heaven and nearest to the earth, shined with borrowed light; and the globes of the stars were a great deal bigger than the whole earth. Now the earth itself seemed so small to me, that I was even ashamed of our empire and seigniory, being so small, that we did enjoy and occupy but as it were a small prick or point of it. Which when I beheld and looked on more steadfastly, I pray thee (quoth Africanus) how long will thy mind be bound and fixed to the groundward? Markest and considerest thou not into what temples thou art come and arrived? Behold, all things are

compacted and framed with nine orbs, or rather globes, whereof one is the uttermost heaven, which compasseth and containeth all the others within it, the most sovereign and omnipotent God holding and containing the others, in whom are fixed those stars which roll about and are carried with perpetual revolutions. Under whom are seven, which make their course backward, with contrary motion to the heaven. Of whom that possesseth one globe, which on earth is named Saturn. Then, next unto it, is that prosperous and lucky brightness to mankind which hath to name Jupiter. Next is he that is ruddy and dreadful to the earth, whom you call Mars. Then almost under the middle region, the Sun reigneth as chief, the guide, the prince, and the governor of the residue of the lights, the life-giver, the mind and temperature of the world, being so great and so big in quantity that it pierceth and filleth all things with his shining. Him, as waiters, do follow one course of Venus and another of Mercury. And in the lowest circle, the moon lightened with the rays of the sun hath her course. Beneath the globe of the moon there is nothing but mortal, transitory and corruptible, saving only the souls which almighty God hath given and inspired into mankind. Above the moon all is

eternal and incorruptible. For the earth, which is middle and the ninth, is not moved, and is lowest of all others, and unto it are all ponderous and heavy things carried with their own sway and motion. Which when I, as one greatly astounded, much mused and marvelled to see, after I was come to myself again: What sweet noise and melodious harmony is this (quoth I) that thus delighteth and filleth mine ears? This is (quoth he) a tune and note compact with uneven distances, but yet according their rated proportion distinct and different, which is caused and made through the swift moving and sway of these same orbs, which tempering sharps with flats equally, maketh divers tunes of harmony, for truly such great and swift motions cannot be moved and incited with silence; and it is according to natural course and order that the extremes on the one side should give a flat sound, and on the other a sharp. For which cause the highest course of the starry sky, whose whirling about is vehementer and quicker, is moved with a sharp and a shrill sound, but this lowest course of the moon is moved with a very base and flat sound. For the earth, being the ninth, is lumpish and immoveable, and sticketh fast always in the lowest seat, compassing and beclipping the middle place of

the world. And those eight courses, in which is one self-same strength and force of twain, do make seven notes distinct with distances, which number is in a manner the knot of all things. Which learned men perceiving and imitating with strings and songs, have opened a way to themselves to have access into this place; as there hath been some others who, being men of most pregnant and excellent wits, in their lifetime honoured and applied divine studies. This sound so filled their ears that they became therewith dunch and deaf. Neither is any sense in you blunter or duller, as it is in them which dwell near where the river Nilus, at the place called Catadupa, falleth down from very high and steep mountains with a most violent and headlong fall, in such sort, that the people which dwell and inhabit near thereabout, for the incredible greatness of the noise and sound are generally all deaf. And this noise of the whole world by reason of his most vehement and quick conversion and moving is so great, that the ears of men are not able to convey and comprehend it, like as you are not able to look steadfastly upon the sun direct against you with your eyes, but with the rays and beams thereof your sight dazzleth and your sense is overcome.

Although I greatly wondered hereat, yet did I now and then cast mine eyes toward the ground. Then spake Africanus unto me saying: I perceive that thou yet beholdest the seat and habitation of men, which if it seem unto thee (as it is indeed) very little and small, cast thine eyes always toward these heavenly things, and contemn those mortal and human matters. For what celebrity of fame canst thou obtain by the talk and report of men, or what glory canst thou there win that is to be desired? Thou seest the habitable places that men have on earth to be in sheer places and narrow corners, yea, and in the same also which are but as it were certain spots or pricks where they do inhabit, thou seest great deserts and waste wilderness to be laid between and interjected. And also thou seest them which dwell upon the earth to be not only so interrupted and dis severed in situation that nothing between them can pass from one to another; but partly they dwell awry from you, partly overthwart to you, and some directly against you, at whose hands you cannot look to receive any glorious fame and renown. Thou seest also the same earth environed and encompassed about as it were with certain girdles, whereof thou seest two most diverse,

and contrariously distant one from the other, lying under the poles of heaven on both sides, to be never without extreme chilling and frost. That which is in the middle and is the greatest, is broiled with continual and excessive heat of the parching sun. Two are habitable, whereof the one is southward, and they that dwell therein do set their feet against yours and belong nothing to your kind. The other, which lieth toward the north, wherein you dwell, mark how slender a share and portion cometh to your part thereof. For all the earth which is inhabited of you, narrow at the poles, broader at the sides, is a little small island compassed about with that sea which you on earth call the Atlantic, the great and the main ocean sea. Which notwithstanding these his glorious names and great titles, how small it is thou seest; from these inhabited and known lands was either thy name, or the name of any of us, able to reach either beyond this hill Caucasus which thou seest, or else to swim over yonder river Ganges? Who in the rest of the uttermost parts of the east or west, north or south, shall hear tell of thy name? These being amputated and cut off, certes thou well seest in what narrow straits your glory is able to extend itself. As for them that shall speak of you, alas, how long shall they

speak? Furthermore, if your sequel and posterity were desirous and willing to blaze abroad and leave to their posterity the worthy praises of every one of us, which they have heard of their fathers, yet by reason of the deluges and inundations of waters, and the burnings of lands which of necessity must happen at a certain time, our glory which we may attain shall be not only not eternal, but also not of any continuance. And what skilleth it to be talked of and remembered of them which shall be born hereafter, sithens there was none of them which were born before, who doubtless were neither fewer in number, and certes were better men a great deal? Especially sith among them unto whom the report of our fame may be heard, no man is able to bear anything in memory the space of one year. For commonly men do reckon a year only by the course and race of the sun, that is, to wit, of one planet. But when all the signs and stars of firmament are come again to the same point from whence they once set out, and begin again to renew their former description of the whole heaven, after long space and tract of time, then may that be truly named the turning year, wherein how many men's ages are contained, I dare scarcely tell. For as the sun seemed to be eclipsed ✓

and dimmed at that time when the soul of Romulus ascended into these temples, so whenever the sun in the same part and in the same time shall again be obscured and darkened, then (all the stars and signs being revoked back to their selfsame first beginning) accompt thou and reckon it for a full and complete and a perfect year. And this know further, that the twentieth part of this year is not yet expired and overrun. Therefore, if thou despair of thy return into this place, wherein all things are for noble and worthy personages, how much worth then is this fading glory of men which can scarcely last and reach to a little part of one year? Therefore, if thou wilt lift up thine eyes on high and view this habitation and eternal mansion, thou shalt neither be affectioned to give thyself to the talk of the vulgar people, neither repose thy hope and confidence in worldly promotions and advancement. For it behoveth that virtue herself must with her allurements draw thee to the true honour and renown. What others do speak and talk of thee, let them look to it themselves; but yet talk they will. But all their talk is both enclosed within the straits of those regions which thou seest, neither hath their talk been of any man perpetual; it both dieth when the men die, and is utterly quenched with

the oblivion of posterity. When he had thus said: Certes (quod I), O Africanus, if to the well-deservers of their country there lieth as it were a path open to the entry of heaven, albeit from my childhood I, walking in my father's steps and yours, was nothing behind to aspire and further your renown; yet now, seeing so great a reward set out and propounded, I will endeavour myself far more diligently. Do so (quoth he), and make thy sure accompt of this, that it is not thou which art mortal, but it is this body of thine; neither art thou that which thy outward form and shape declareth, but the mind and soul of every man ^{is} he, and not that figure and shape which may be pointed at and showed with the finger. Therefore know this, that thou art a god, if forsooth a god be that which liveth, which feeleth, which remembreth, which foreseeth, which doth so rule, govern, and move that body whereunto it is appointed, as that most high prince God doth this world. And as God being himself eternal, doth move this world being in some part mortal, so the mind being sempiternal doth move the body being frail and transitory; for that which is ever moved is eternal. But that which bringeth motion to another, which same is moved from elsewhere, when the moving hath an end it

p. 152 { must needs have an end of living also. Therefore that only which moveth itself, because it never forsaketh nor leaveth itself, never truly ceaseth it not to be moved. Moreover, this is the fountain and beginning of moving to other things that are moved. And the beginning hath no original; for all things proceed and spring from a beginning, but itself can be made of nothing. For that which should have generation elsewhere, could not be a beginning; so, therefore, if it never spring and begin, neither doth it ever die. For the beginning being extinct, neither shall itself ever grow again of another, neither shall it create any other of itself. For of necessity all things do spring from a beginning. And so it cometh to pass that the beginning of moving is, because it is moved of itself; and it can neither breed nor die, or else the whole heaven would fall down, and all nature of necessity would cease, and not obtain any force and power whereby it may be moved with his first impulse and motion. Sithens, therefore, it plainly appeareth, that whatsoever is moved of itself is eternal, who is he that dare to deny this nature to be given to minds? For that is without life which is moved with external force and motion; but that which is a soul is moved with internal motion, for

this is the nature and power that is peculiar to a soul. Which, if it be one alone of all which moveth itself, certes, it was neither born and also it is eternal. This see that thou exercise in the best things. And the best cares that a man can take are such as tend to the avail and profit of our country. In which cares the mind being inured and practised shall have speedier access and arrival into this habitation and mansion place; and the sooner shall it do so, if then when it is enclosed in the body, it surmount abroad, and beholding those things that are outwardly shall greatly withdraw itself as much as is possible from the body. For the minds of them that have enthralled and given themselves to bodily pleasures, and have made themselves as it were the bond-slaves and ministers thereof, and by the egging and procurement of sensual lust and appetite obeying pleasures, have profaned and violated the laws both of God and man, when they be dismissed and delivered out of their bodies they are tumbled and tossed about the earth, and do not return into this place till they have been pursued and turmoiled many hundred years.

He departed, and I immediately awoke out of my sleep.

FINIS.

1

APPENDIX



THE BOOK OF FRIENDSHIP OF MARCUS
TULLIUS CICERO

—
ANNO DOMINI 1550
—

TO THE RIGHT VIRTUOUS, AND MY
SINGULAR GOOD LADY,

KATHERINE,
DUCHESS OF SUFFOLK.

x

AS my prisonment and adversity, most honourable lady, was of their own nature joined with great and sundry miseries, so was the sufferance of the same eased by the chance of diverse and many commodities. For thereby found I great soul-profit, a little mind-knowledge, some hollow hearts, and a few faithful friends. Whereby I tried prisonment of the body to be the liberty of the spirit; adversity of fortune, the touchstone of friendship; exemption from the world, to be a contempt of vanities; and in the end, quietness of mind, the occasion of study. And thus somewhat altered, to avoid my old idleness, to recompense my lost time, and to take profit of my calamity, I gave myself among other things to study and learn the French tongue, having both skilful prisoners to

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instruct me, and thereto plenty of books to learn the language. Among which, as there were diverse notable, and for their sundry matter worthy reading, so none liked me above this Tullius' *Book of Friendship*, nor for the argument any with it to be compared. The whole whereof when I had perused, and saw the goodly rules, the natural order and civil use of friendship: where before I but liked, then was I ravished, and in a certain wonder with the heathen learning; which chiefly for itself I fantasied, and for my state I deemed good to be embraced, as a glass to discern my friends in, and a civil rule to lead my life by.

These causes moved me to think it meet for mee. Whereupon I, as I could, translated it; and though not so lively, nor yet so aptly as some would look for and many could do, yet I trust they will rather bear with my good will than rebuke my boldness, for that it proceeded more of a good mind than of any presumption of knowledge. And so my enterprise is to be interpreted rather by friends, as a treatise of friendship, than by learned clerks in an argument of translation.

Well, howsoever it shall be liked of the learned, I hope it shall be allowed of the unlearned, whose capacities by my own I consider; and for lack of a fine and

flowing style I have used the plain and common speech. And to the end the sense might not be changed, nor the goodness of the matter by shift of tongues much minished, I caused it to be conferred with the Latin author, and so by the known well-learned to be corrected; after whose handling methought a new spirit and life was given it, and many parts seemed as if they were with a new coat arrayed, as well for the orderly placing and eloquently changing of some words, as also for the plainly opening and learnedly amending of the sense, which in the French translation was somewhat darkened, and by me, for lack of knowledge, in many places missed.

Thus when the thing was perfected, and I beheld the fame of the author, the nature of the treatise, and the clearness of his teaching, I could not judge to whom I should rather offer it than unto your Grace, whom the friendless daily find their defence, and the helpless repair to as a refuge. This did I, not to teach you, but to let you see, in learning ancient, that you have by nature used; nor to warn you of aught you lacked, but to set forth your perfection. The proof whereof the dead might witness, and their offspring hath just cause to knowledge it, as more can record it than can requite it. And such your friendly

steadfastness, declared to the dead, doth ascertain us of your steadfast friendliness toward the living, which the many have felt, and divers do prove, and few can want. Of which number your Grace hath made me one, that neither least or seldomest have tasted of your benefits, both in my trouble and also liberty. Wherefore your Grace in my sight is of all other most worthy this small fruit of my prison's labour, as a fit patroness to the honour of such a work, and a true example in whom it is fulfilled.

Thus the Lord of truth preserve you in friendship, increase your friends, and defend you from enemies.

JOHN HARRINGTON.

To the Reader.

THE wise man in his *Proverbs* sayeth: A friend loveth at all times; that is, as well in the time of adversity as prosperity. And again he saith: The man that is apt to amity, and that hath bent his heart to entertain friendship, doth more love, and faster stick to his friend, than one brother to another. And it is written in the *Ecclesiasticus*: Do not become

a foe of a friend; for such a man obtaineth an ill name, blameworthy and reproachful, even like as the double-tongued is infamous. And again it is there written: A faithful and a trusty friend is a strong garrison; he that attaineth such one findeth a precious treasure. To a sure and trusty friend, saith he, no price is equal; for an assured friend is the medicine of life. Such a one shall they obtain that reverently honour the Lord. He that honoureth the Lord doth stablish and make sure this friendship; for even as another himself shall his friend be to him. Forsake not thine old friend, for the new shall not be equal unto him. A new friend is like unto must or new wine, the which at length thou shalt drink with pleasure. A friend, he saith, in prosperity cannot be judged; nor the enemy in adversity will be hid. In the time of a man's prosperity his enemies are sorry, and in adversity his friend forsaketh him. Show thyself trusty and sure to thy friend, a poor man, that thou mayest with him rejoice in prosperity. Observe fidelity to him in time of calamity, that thou mayest together with him come into his possession. See, saith he, that thou love thy friend, and show thyself sure and trusty unto him; and if thou babble abroad his secrets, thou lovest him.

Thus, when I remember in how many places of Holy Scripture precepts are given concerning friends and friendship, I do not a little muse and marvel at the divine gift that the most noble and excellent learned man, the most worthy Roman, Marcus Tullius Cicero, had, who, in this his *Book of Amity* hereafter following, hath so eloquently, so lively, so pithily, and so plainly described and set out what amity is, and how to choose a friend, how much is to be done for a friend, how friends should ponder requests, what manner of men are meet for friendship, the property of true friendship, the principal cause of friendship, the chief point in friendship, the commodities of friendship, what thing trieth friends, the bonds of love in friendship, the dissimulation in friendship, feigned friendship, the profit of friendship, the fruit of friendship, the ways to prove friends, what is to be attributed to true friends, what a friend ought to eschew, and so forth the end of friendship: that I think there is no man but that he may learn out of the said book, all the points needful, for him that will enter into, and continue in that most happy and blissful life of true friendship; whereby he may so order and govern himself, that at length he may attain to that glorious name, to be called a sure

and trusty friend. And certainly no man can climb so high (by the description of Tully) but he that is both good and wise, and that liveth virtuously. And so, after the determination of Cicero, I may conclude, that he that is a faithful, a sure, and a trusty friend, must needs be a good, a wise, and a virtuous man.

THE BOOK OF OLD AGE OF MARCUS
TULLIUS CICERO

TO THE RIGHT HIGH AND HONOURABLE
LORD WILLIAM PAULET, OF THE NOBLE
ORDER OF THE GARTER KNIGHT, LORD ST.
JOHN, EARL OF WILTSHIRE, MARQUIS OF WIN-
CHESTER, AND LORD TREASURER OF ENGLAND.

WHENAS (Right Honourable) I had finished this my rude translation of Marcus Tullius Cicero his *Book of Old Age*, begun and ended by me this last year, having a quiet time of vacation among my friends in Cheshire, thereby to exclude and avoid that loathsome and horrible monster Idleness, which holy Ambrose aptly calleth the pillow or cushion of Satan, I called my wits to counsel and studied in my mind, to whom my simple travail therein employed might best be dedicated. Among all others I could find none unto whom the whole process of the matter, and the excellence of the argument, seemed better to agree than to your lordship. Using therefore the grave advice of the famous philosopher and Christian ethnic (for so doubteth not Erasmus to call him) Seneca, who willeth every man that meaneth to bestow any gift or present upon any manner of person, not only to have a diligent eye and respect that his said gift be such as to his estate and degree is meet

and agreeable, but also such as to the dignity and calling of the receiver is apt and convenable; I humbly offer this little Treatise of Old Age unto your honour, as unto him in whom old age, to the great rejoicing of all your well-willers, most triumphantly flourisheth; trusting, yea, rather, not doubting, but that your lordship will as favourably accept it as the noble King Artaxerxes (surnamed Memor) did a pomegranate, which one of his subjects presented him withal, or as, at another time, he did a little fair river-water, which a poor Persian peasant (seeing many people thick and threefold to bring rewards to the king, and he having nothing, yet loth to come behind with the signification of his poor loyal heart toward his sovereign) offered unto him in the hollowness of his two hands: or (to take an example nearer home, and of a prince of later days) as the politic and prudent Loys, the eleventh of that name, King of France, did a radish root, presented unto him by the hands of his poor vassal and subject, Conon the Burgonian. And because beside a fruitful and learned discourse of age, there be herein also interlaced many proper conclusions and facts contrived in the praise and commendation of husbandry, wherein not only mean gentlemen and honourable senators, but also

mighty monarchs and puissant princes in old time took great delight and pleasure, together with a chronology of divers heroical and worthy enterprises achieved partly by martial prowess, partly by wisdom and policy : these all seemed most fit to be dedicated unto your excellency, who is and of long time hath been the principal husband of this famous realm under our royal and sovereign Princess, and other her Grace's noble predecessors : who also most honourably and faithfully have served her highness and them in their manifold and weighty affairs both at home and in other foreign realms in great favour and estimation. Whom God hath blessed with so prosperous a race of long life, to see the children of your children's children, imps for their towardness not like to degenerate from the virtue of their great-grandfather, neither to forsake the steps of their noble grandfather. Here will I wade no farther to speak anything of the virtuous gifts incorporate in your noble breast, partly because it might peradventure seem to smell of that ugly vice, which I do and ever have detested (I mean adulation), and partly because they sufficiently commend themselves to the eye of the world, in so much that in respect of them my words might be but as it were a candle lighted at high noon to help the shining

of the bright sun at midsummer. Wherefore in receiving this worthy senator and his small train, whom in this Dialogue he introduceth reasoning and talking one with another of the commodities and discommodities of old age, into your patrociny and protection (whose sugared sentences and pregnant style, fraughted with a legion of witty persuasions and eloquent arguments, penned by that incomparable phoenix of all eloquence among all that ever wrate either before or since his days, I for lack of knowledge have racked from gorgeous elegancy, and out of Roman gowns, more boldly I fear than wisely, changed into English liveries) you shall acquire and purchase great praise and glory. Assuring yourself that in defending and shrouding them against the poisoned and slanderous infamies of serpentine sycophants, and the cankered assaults of malicious tongues, which feed on no other repast but spiteful disdain and hellish rancour, your lordship shall do a thing (unless I be much deceived) greatly sounding to the generosity of your noble heart and high estate. For what greater praise can there be than to be a patron of virtue, and of them that are virtuous? Again, wherein is the honour of the honourable so much blemished, dimmed, and eclipsed, as in bolstering vice and supporting the

wicked? Accept therefore (right noble lord) this poor earnest-penny of my unfeigned good-will into your tuition, whereby I shall be animated and encouraged hereafter perhaps to attempt some weightier matter. In the mean season, humbly and willingly submitting myself and all that I can do to your censure and commandment, I surcease any longer to trouble you beseeching God, the Author and Giver of all good things, so to infuse His gracious gifts into you that after the epilogue and last pageant of this mortal and transitory life (wherein your lordship with much worship more honour, and most authority these eight-and-twenty years hath been a worthy and honourable actor) you may be translated into the joys celestial, and be made partaker of His glorious kingdom. Amen.
 From Manchester, the seventh of March, 1569.

Your lordship's most humble orator,

THOMAS NEWTON.

PREFACE TO THE BOOK OF OLD AGE.

To the Reader.

IF I did not, gentle reader, trust more to thy friendly courtesy than to mine own skill and judgment, I would not with hazard of my fame have

enterprised the divulgation of this my simple travail to the gazing view of every scrupulous and critical beholder. But because it pleased some to desire me (who notwithstanding had authority to command me) to take this small charge in hand, I am bold upon their encouragement and liking to conceive semblable hope of thy friendly and favourable acceptance. Albeit, long as it was ere I would willingly relent to their requests, pleading, in excuse, of my unableness, and alleging the incomparable sublimity and sappy eloquence of the author, whereby my conscience upbraided me of presumption, in that I having but a small slender vessel would adventure into any such sea. Furthermore I was not ignorant how this same was translated about thirty years ago; but of all doubts this was the least, for as much as that translation beareth but the countenance of one, being none indeed to any purpose, being taken of the learned for none at all, sithens never a page almost is answerable to the Latin text, I will not say, scantly any sentence. Take therefore well in worth my good will, and afford me gentle report for my labour, which is the sole guerdon that I do expect at thy hands, and think not that the translator's unskilfulness doth anything derogate from the author's worthiness; weigh my

These

- intent in the balance of friendship and indifference, who to countervail the want of power, am stored with as much good will as the best to pleasure thee. Farewell.

T. NEWTON.

A BRIEF ABSTRACT OF YEARS

I THOUGHT I might very well in this place annex this catalogue or recital of such sages and honourable personages as lived long; as well for the similitude and affinity of the argument, as for the admiration and comfortable reading with pleasure of the thing itself, sithence in these our days being in the last age of the world, not one among ten thousand liveth the tenth part of their flourishing time and ancience; unless, peradventure, there be some that will say (whose words I cannot deny have some colour of probability) that the years in old time were not so long as our years now-a-days are, and that every nation reckoned after their country's familiar computation. For whose satisfaction, I will show the difference of diverse years; first of these sundry years that yet are allowed, and then of certain particular years appropriate to sundry countries and cities, and

lastly the authorities and minds of some learned men concerning the comparison of our year and theirs together.

First, it is to be considered that there be three manner of years. One is named *Annus Magnus*, *Annus Mundanus*, or *Annus Platonicus*, containing of our years, as not only Plato, but also Macrobius and Joannes (*De Sacro Busto*) do affirm, fifteen thousand years, in which time and space the sun, with all the other planets and fixed stars of the firmament, return to the very same points and places that they had at the first beginning. Josephus, in the eighth chapter of his first *Book of Antiquities*, saith it containeth but six hundred years. The second is called *Annus Solaris*, which is the space wherein the sun completely finisheth his course through every sign of the zodiac, and returneth again to the same point whence it set out, which is in three hundred and sixty-five days, six hours, and eight minutes of an hour. These six hours, collected and set together, do in four years amount to twenty-four hours, the space of a natural day. And this is the cause why every fourth year (to keep the year at a certain stay) we have leap-year, and that year February hath twenty-nine days, and the year three hundred, sixty and six days. The odd

eight minutes must be also diligently looked into, for else in process and tract of time it will cause great error and confusion. For in one hundred and twenty years they do amount to a natural day, which, being not observed, causeth the two *solstitia*, the *æstival*, and the *hyemal*, that is to say, in plainer words, when the days are at the longest and when they be at the shortest, and also the two *æquinoclia*, that is, when the day and night are of one length, to go one day back, which would in time, if it be not amended, make Christmas (which is already gone from his just time at the beginning almost fifteen days) to be in the spring, and midsummer to be in autumn, and all the feasts and times of the year to a preposterous order. The third is *Annus Lunaris*, which containeth the space of a month. Furthermore, Romulus, the first King of Rome, who lived seven hundred and thirty years before Christ, of whom the city of Rome was both builded and named, devised a year that contained but ten months, whereof March was the first, in honour of his father Mars, then April, then May, then June, then *Quintilis*, so named of the order that it had, because it was the fifth, then *Sextilis*, because it was the sixth, which two names were afterward altered and called, the one July and the other August,

in honour of Julius Cæsar and Octavius Augustus, the first emperors of Rome, then September, and so forth to October, November, and last of all December, being the tenth. After the death of Romulus, Numa Pompilius succeeded in the kingdom, who added January and February to make the year of twelve months, and after the imitation of the Egyptians allotted to one month thirty days, and to another twenty-nine, so that his year had but three hundredth, fifty and four days, which number agreeth not to the course of the sun. Last of all came Julius Cæsar, who, espying the inconveniences and errors aforesaid, added eleven days and six hours, so that then the year contained three hundredth sixty five days and six hours, which year we ever since have and do observe. Thus the other shot at the mark, but this Julius, by help of one Sosigenes, hit the prick within very little, as before I noted.

Some countries reckoned the year by none of these ways, but used another private manner. The Carians and the Acarnanians finished their year in six months, as Macrobius affirmeth (lib. i., *Saturnale*). The Arcadians (as Plutarch saith) made their year to be three months. The rest of the Greeks ended the year in three hundred and fifty four days. The

Egyptians (as Solinus writeth) had four months to their year, but the oldest and ancientest year among them (as Censorinus saith) was but two months. Notwithstanding the authorities of these two famous writers, Macrobius and Herodotus affirm that the certain order and stay of the year always was among them only. Some countries accompted the summer for one year, and the winter for another. And as in years, so likewise in the computation of days like diversity is to be found. For the Babylonians reckoned a day the space between the two sun-risings; the Umbrians from noon till noon; the Athenians between the two sun-settings. Among the common people a day is taken for the space between morning and night. Some kind of days are called natural, and some artificial. The natural day is the space of twenty-four hours, reckoning the night and the day together. An artificial day is from the sun-rising till the sun going down. The clergy and Romanists, the Egyptians, Hipparchus the philosopher, appoint a day from midnight to midnight; the astronomers from noon to noon. Now to answer such as can unneth believe that Methusalem and others lived so many of such years as now we use, truth it is that the years then were neither of a month nor yet of three

months long, which hereby we may manifestly perceive, forasmuch as we read that Solon had a son when he was twelve years of age. Therefore it is credible that either they were equal or else not much less than our years are. Also, we read in the first and fourth book of Josephus' *De Antiquit. Judaic.* that the Hebrews devised the year in Egypt before Noy his flood or the universal cataclism, which year contained twelve months, and the same is also avouched by Polydor Virgilius and Paulus Eberus, late writers. Thus have I compendiously and briefly (although not precisely) collected these sundry computations, whereunto I have added for conclusion what the worthy Josephus writeth concerning the same, wherein if anything be through oversight or otherwise by me misconstrued, I crave thy friendship gently to amend it.

THE NAMES AND AGE OF SUNDRY LONG LIVERS.

ADAM lived nine hundred and thirty years;
Eve as many; Seth nine hundred and twelve;
Enos, the son of Seth, nine hundred and five; Kenam,

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nine ; Sara, Abraham's wife, one hundred, twenty and seven ; Judith, one hundred and five ; Moyses, one hundred and twenty.

Out of Pliny : Arganthon, King of the Tartessians, one hundred and fifty. Sillius writeth that he lived three hundred years, as it appeareth in his third book *De Bell. Pu.* ; Cyniras, King of Cyprus, one hundred and nine ; Aginius, two hundred ; Epimenides Gnosius, one hundred, fifty and seven ; Pictoreus Ætolus, three hundred ; Kings of Arcadie, three hundred ; Dando the Sclavonoies, five hundred and ninety ; Impetris, King of the Isle Pulutine, eight hundred ; his son, six hundred ; Perpenna, ninety and eight ; Marcus Valerius Corvinus, one hundred ; Metellus, Bishop, one hundred ; Livia, Rutilius his wife, ninety and seven ; Statilia, ninety and nine ; Terentia, Cicero his wife, one hundred and seven ; Clodia, Ophelus his wife, one hundred and fifteen. Luccia Minia had a good utterance and pronounced upon the stage, one hundred years. Emoliana lived one hundred and four years ; Sammulla, one hundred and ten ; Stephanio, above a hundred ; Hiero, King of Sicily, eighty ; Masinissa, King of Numidia, above a hundred ; Gorgias Leontinus, one hundred and seven ; Xenophilus of Chalcedon, one hundred and

five. Herodotus writeth that the Æthiopians live above one hundred and thirty years. Hippocrates, the noble physician, born in the Ile Coa, one hundred and four; Isocrates, one hundred; Orbilius of Benevente, one hundred; Plato, eighty and one; Sybilla of Cume, a very long age. Ovid writeth (*Lib. IV. De Trist.*), that his father lived eighty years. Narcissus, Bishop of Hierusalem, one hundred and sixteen; Nestor, three hundred; Antonie, abbot, one hundred and five; Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, ninety and four; Alexander, bishop of Constantinople, ninety and eight; Agilus, abbot, one hundred; Titus, Saint Paul's disciple, one hundred and one; Democritus, three hundred and nine; Paul, the first Heremite, one hundred and twelve; Paconius, abbot, one hundred and ten; Prosdocimus, bishop, one hundred and thirteen; Vandegifilius, County Palatine, ninety and two; Florentinus, bishop, one hundred, twenty and four; Guarinus, bishop of Bononie, one hundred and ten; Viventius, one hundred and twenty; Homer, the poet, one hundred and eight; Hierome, ninety and eight; Helias, abbot, one hundred and one; Joannes (*De Temporibus*), three hundred, sixty and one; Maurus, abbot, ninety and two; Maurilius, bishop, ninety; Romualdus, Heremite, one hundred

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THO. NEWTON.

FINIS.

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